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THE
HISTORY
OF
ITALY,

Written in *Italian* by

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

A Nobleman of *Florence*.

IN TWENTY BOOKS.

Translated into ENGLISH by the

Chevalier AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD,

Knight of the Military Order of St. Stephen.

V O L. IX.

257687
4.8.31

Containing the Seventeenth and Eighteenth
BOOKS of the HISTORY.

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M.DCC.LVI.

Y R O T S I H
OF
T A A T I

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ESVANCEREO GEOLOGARUM

A. D. 1880.

IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

● 本報記者 王曉明 專訪 中國社會科學院社會學研究所所長 鄭杭生

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以“我”为叙述主体，叙述“我”的所见所闻，抒发“我”的情感，表达“我”的见解。

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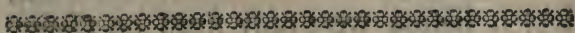
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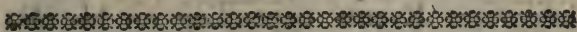


Francesco Guicciardini's
H I S T O R Y
O F

The WARS in ITALY.



B O O K XVII.



T H E C O N T E N T S.

*The Pope, the King of France, the Venetians,
and the Duke of Milan confederate against
Cæsar. Castle of Milan surrendered to
the Imperialists, after some faint Attempts
of the Army of the League, under the
Duke of Urbino, to relieve it. Wars in
Lombardy and Tuscany. Siege of
Cremona... Lewis King of Hungary
defeated and slain by Solyman. Rome
surprised by the Colonnas. Pope makes
a Truce with the Imperialists; and the
Duke of Ferrara confederates with them.*



H E Deliverance of the King of *A. D.*
France, tho' obtained under the *1526.*
solemn Engagement of Articles,
the Religious Tyes of Oaths, and mutual

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1526.

Great Ex-
pectations
from the
King of
France.

Faith given between the two Princes, and a Band of a new Affinity, and all confirmed and strengthened by the Pledge of two Sons, one of these the First-born, and Heir apparent to so great a Succession, raised vast Expectations in the Christian Princes, and diverted the Eyes of all Men, which before were only fixed on *Cæsar*, upon himself, very different and no less important Events depending on his observing, or not, the Treaty of *Madrid*. For if he observed it, all plainly saw that *Italy*, insufficient to defend itself with its own Strength, was doomed to Slavery without Remedy, the Authority and Grandeur of *Cæsar* increasing in a surprising Manner: If he should not observe it, *Cæsar* would be under a Necessity, from the Non-observance of the King of *France*, either to forget the Plotting of the Duke of *Milan* against him, and restore him that Dutchy, that the Pontiff and *Venetians* might have no Cause to join with the King, and so lose such great Profits expected from the Victory; or, if he were more influenced by an Indignation conceived against the Duke of *Milan*, and a

Desire

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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Desire to have no Obstruction from the *French* in *Italy*, to establish an Agreement with the King, converting the Obligation of the Restitution of *Burgundy* into the Payment of a Sum of Money ; or, finally, if he could not prevail with himself to stoop to either of these Expedients, be content to take upon his Hands a War from so many Enemies, tho' very difficult, as appeared in a manner by his own Confession, since, in order to avoid it, he was obliged to release, with so much Danger, the King of *France*.

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BUT the Public was not long held in Suspense concerning the Mind of the King; for being, as soon as he arrived at *Bayonne*, solicited by the Viceroy of *Naples* to ratify the Agreement, as he had promised to do as soon as he should be in a free Place, he deferred it from Day to Day with various Excuses. And by such Means to nourish the Hopes of *Cæsar* he sent a proper Person to signify to him, that he had not immediately made the Ratification, because it was necessary, before he proceeded to that Act, to mollify the Spirits

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1526.



King of
France
complains
of the
Emperor.

of his People, who were discontented at the Obligations, which tended to the Diminution of the Crown of *France*; but that, in Spite of all Difficulties, he would undoubtedly observe all he had promised. Hence, it being easy to comprehend his Mind, a few Days afterwards arrived some Persons sent by the Pope and *Venetians*, who needed not to use much Diligence to assure themselves of his Inclination; for, having given them a generous Reception, in the first Conference which he had with each of them separately, he greatly complained of the Inhumanity with which the Emperor had used him at the Time when he was a Prisoner, not treating him in a Manner suitable to such a Prince as he was, nor with that Spirit which was becoming a Prince who had Commiseration of the Calamities of another Prince, or considered that what had happened to him might as well have befallen himself. He quoted the Example of *Edward* King of *England*, him who was called *Edward Long-Shanks*, who, when *John* King of *France*, taken by his Son the Prince of *Wales*, at the Battle of *Poitiers*, was presented

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sented to him, not only received him courteously, but left him in free Custody all the Time he was a Prisoner in the Island, always familiarly conversed with him, and made him a Party in his Pleasures of Hunting and Feasting, nor did by this Means lose the Prisoner, nor obtain a less favourable Agreement for himself. Hence there grew so great a Familiarity and Confidence between them, that *John*, even after he had been set at Liberty, and had remained several Years in *France*, voluntarily returned into *England*, purely out of a Desire to revisit his Host. He only remembered, he said, two Kings of *France* who had been taken Prisoners in Battle, *John* and himself; but the Difference of the Examples was no less remarkable, since one might be alledged as an Example of the Courtesy, and the other might serve for an Example of the Austerity of the Conqueror: Nor had he found him of a more placable and gentle Disposition towards others, but, on the contrary, was assured from the Discourse which they had held together at *Madrid*, that, possessed with the Height of Ambition, he

A. D. 1526. had no other Design than to reduce the Church, *Italy*, and all the other Princes into a State of Slavery : For which Reason it was his Desire that the Pope and the *Venetians* would seriously think of providing for their own Safety, since he would demonstrate to them how willing and ready he was to concur in the Defence of the common Safety, and to enter into a strict Alliance with them for taking up Arms against *Cæsar*, not to recover the State of *Milan* for himself, or otherwise to increase his Power, but only that by means of a War he might obtain his Children, and *Italy* her Liberty : That *Cæsar*, blinded by an excessive Covetousness, had not the Discretion to oblige him in such a Manner as that he should be bound to stand to the Capitulation, considering that both at first, when he was in the Castle of *Pizzichitone*, and afterwards in *Spain* in the Castle of *Madrid*, he had oftentimes protested to *Cæsar*, after he had seen his iniquitous Demands, that if, constrained by Necessity, he should yield to unjust Conditions, which it was not in his Power to perform, he would not only

His Reasons for not thinking himself bound by the Agreement.

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not perform them, but, on the contrary, *A. D.*
looking on himself as injured by him, in *1526.*
being bound to dishonourable and impossible Engagements, would not fail to revenge himself if ever he had an Opportunity. Nor did he omit frequently to inculcate what the Council might have known of themselves, and what was believed also to be common to other Kingdoms, that it was not in the Power of a King of *France* to oblige himself, without the Consent of the States General of the Kingdom, to alienate any Thing appertaining to the Crown; that the Christian Laws did not permit a Prisoner of War to remain in perpetual Imprisonment, because it was a Punishment fit for Criminals, and never designed for such as are depressed by the Malice of Fortune. Every one knows that Obligations extorted by Violence in a Prison were of no Value, and the Capitulation being invalid, his Faith, also which was necessary, and confirmatory of it was no way obliged: That there were preceding Oaths taken at *Rheims*, where the Kings of *France* are consecrated with such a Multitude of Ceremonies,

A. D. monies, and with the celestial Oil, by
 1526. which they are obliged not to alienate the
 Patrimony of the Crown. For these Reasons he was not less free than ready to moderate the Insults of *Cæsar*.

THE same Disposition appeared in the King's Mother, and also in his Sister, who, because she had taken a fruitless Journey to *Spain*, made great Complaints of the Austerity of *Cæsar*, and of all the chief Men of his Court who were concerned in the Management of private Business, not doubting but that, after the Arrival of full Powers from the Pope and *Venetians*, a Conclusion would soon be put to the League, which it was proper, they said, to negotiate in *France*, for the better Conveniency of drawing in the King of *England* to be an Associate, of which they seemed to entertain great Hopes. Such was the Talk of the King and his Ministers in public with great Asseverations, but in private his Thoughts were very different; for being wholly determined not to yield up *Burgundy* to *Cæsar*, he was also averse from entering into a War against him,

His secret
 Design.

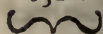
him, unless forced by Necessity; but, by treating of a Confederacy with the *Italians*, he was in Hopes that *Cæsar*, to avoid running into so many Difficulties, would be induced to convert the Article of the Restitution of *Burgundy* into a pecuniary Obligation, in which Case no Regard to the Affairs of *Italy* would have withheld him from an Accommodation, for the Sake of having his Children restored to him.

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BUT the Agents of the Pope and *Venetians*, having received such great Hopes from the King, immediately notified the Answer which they had obtained at a Time when both the Necessity and Opportunity of an Union against *Cæsar* in *Italy* were increased: The Necessity, because the Duke of *Milan*, who in the Beginning, partly through the Fault of his Ministers, and partly for Want of Time to provide himself, had put but a small Quantity of Victuals into the Castle; and that little had not been distributed with that Frugality which is usual among Men in the like Circumstances, gave every Day Notice (for, though besieged in the Castle, he

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1526.



he always found Means to write) that his Provisions would not hold out till the End of *June*, and that, if no Way could be found to supply him with more, he would be necessitated to surrender to *Cæsar* at Discretion. And though he was supposed to have exaggerated, as is usual with those who are besieged, the Distress beyond the Truth, yet there were many Reasons to think that his Provisions were short; and to let the Castle fall into the Hands of *Cæsar*, besides increasing his Reputation, would render the recovering of that State much more difficult. But the Opportunity seemed to be no less increased, because all the People were reduced to the utmost Despair: For *Cæsar* sending no Money to pay his

Dutchy of
Milan
so sorely op-
pressed.

Troops, which were now many Payments in Arrears, and there being no Means of procuring it from any other Hands, the Generals had distributed the Men at Arms and the light Horse into Quarters all over the Country, charging this Town with finding Quarters for one Company, and that Town with quartering another; so that the Inhabitants, to excuse themselves from that Burden, were necessitated to

compound

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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compound with the Generals and Soldiers by Money, which was so rigorously exacted, that it was the constant Report at that Time, and positively asserted by many who were well versed in the Affairs of that State, that the Dutchy of *Milan* paid each Day to the *Cæsarean* Army Five Thousand Ducats, of which, as it is said, *Antonio da Leva* received thirty Ducats for his own Share. The Infantry besides, which was quartered in *Milan* and other Towns, not only expected to be wholly found in Diet by the Landlords of the Houses in which they lived, but many times a Number of Foot assembling at the same House the Master was obliged to provide Victuals for them all; other Houses, not having the Means to supply them with Food, were constrained to compound with Money; and sometimes it happened that the same Soldier had Quarters allotted him in different Houses, one of which he chose to find him in Diet, and from the rest he exacted Money.

THIS miserable Condition, and Oppression exercised with such great Cruelty, had

A. D. 1526. had made all the Inhabitants of the Dutchy quite desperate, but especially the People of *Milan*, who were never accustomed, before the Marquis of *Pescara* had entered their City, to be burdened with finding Victuals, or contributing towards Quarters for the Soldiery, and being powerful in Number and Arms, though not so numerous as they used to be before the Plague, were unable to bear such intolerable Insolence, and most rigorous Exactions; and, therefore, to free themselves from them, or, at least, to have them moderated in some measure, the *Milaneſe* had sent Ambassadors to *Cæſar*, but had been dismissed with an Answer in general Terms without any Redress. Nor was *Milan*, though burdened, according to its Proportion, with a greater Number of Soldiers than other Towns, excused from paying Money towards the public Expences, or such Sums as happened to be charged by the Orders of the Generals for the Support of *Cæſar*'s Government; and this Money being difficult to be raised, the Officers appointed for that Purpose were very severe in levying it. The People, by these

Pro-

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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Proceedings, being driven to the last Degree of Despair, agreed with one Consent among themselves to resist the Exactions with Arms in hand, and that whoever should find himself aggrieved by the Collectors should call his next Neighbour to his Defence, all which, followed by others who were to be called, should assemble together at the Command of Officers appointed in many Parts of the City for resisting those employed in the Exactions, and the Soldiers who offered to favour them. After these Orders had been given, it happened that a Blacksmith in the Town, the Collectors being come to assault him, raised the Neighbourhood for his Defence, and those next him being followed by a Concourse of others of the Populace, the Tumult grew to a very great Insurrection in all Parts of the City. To repress this Disorder, and quiet the Minds of the People, *Antonio da Leva*, and the Marquis *dal Guasta*, attended by some Noblemen of *Milan*, ran in all Haste, and presenting themselves before the Multitude at last appeased the Tumult, but not till the General had promised that they would

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would be contented with the public Revenues, and not burden any one with other Impositions, nor increase the Number of Soldiers in *Milan*. This Agreement lasted but till the next Day, when Advice coming that new Soldiers were approaching towards the City the People flew to Arms, and in much better Order, and with a greater Concourse, than the Day before. The Generals, beginning to doubt they should not be able to resist the Torrent of the popular Fury, had, as many affirm, an Inclination to depart with their Troops out of *Milan*; and it is believed that they would have put it in Execution, if the People in one united Body had shewed themselves in a Readiness and Resolution to attack them and the Soldiers: But they ignorantly fell to plunder the Old Court, where the Judge of criminal Causes with a certain Number of Foot resided, making that the first which ought to have been the last Act of their Execution. From this Disorder the Imperial Generals, resuming their Courage, and having fortified the Streets, and called off most Part of the Troops that were stationed

stationed at the Siege of the Castle, drew together in Order, ready to make Resistance if the People offered to attack them. The Besieged took this Opportunity to make a Sally out of the Castle, and attack the Trenches made on the Inside, but soon retired, not seeing themselves seconded by the People, who, partly for want of Experience in Arms, and partly from an Eagerness to carry to their Houses the Goods they had plundered in the Old Court, not only omitted every proper Operation, but seemed rather about to break and disperse. The Generals laying hold of this Opportunity, with the Interposition of some of the Nobles, pacified also this Tumult, but with a Promise to remove all the Soldiers out of the City and Territory of *Milan*, except the *German* Foot that assisted at the Siege of the Castle. Thus easily did the Policy of the military Men enable them to avoid a very great Danger, to elude the Efforts of a Populace unpractised in Arms, and to repress the Disorders in which a tumultuous Multitude, destitute of prudent and valiant Leaders, easily involve themselves. But

A. D.
1526.

A. D.

1526.

as the People neither broke off their Intelligences and Combinations, nor laid down their Arms, but rather every Day manifested a Disposition to greater Commotions; such a Juncture seemed to afford an Opportunity of very great Moment to those who had a Design to embarrass the Affairs of *Cæsar*, especially considering the small Forces and other Difficulties of the Imperialists, and remembering also that in the late War the surprising Ardor and Zeal which the People of *Milan* and of the other Towns had expressed in their Favour had been a very great Foundation for the Defence of that State.

SUCH was the Situation of Affairs in *Italy*, when Advices arrived from *France* of the ready Disposition and Offers of the King, and of the Request he made for sending Commissioners: And at the same time the Ambassadors of the King of *England*, at the Court of *Rome*, were not wanting to stimulate the Pontiff to think on Methods for moderating the Greatness of *Cæsar*, and to hearten and encourage the

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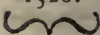
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the King of *France* not to observe the Capitulation. On these Considerations not only the *Venetians*, who at all Times, and on much less Occasions had advised the taking up Arms, but even the Pontiff, tho' it was with great Difficulty that he disposed himself to engage in so troublesome an Affair, judged himself obliged to sum up all his Reasonings, and no longer to delay coming to some Resolution. The Reasons which, some Months since, had inclined him to War, were not only the same, but even stronger and more considerable: For as, in proportion to the Length of Time which had been been spent in the Negotiations, *Cæsar* had been the better enabled to discover that the Mind of the Pontiff was averse to his Greatness, so the Pontiff, by the Agreement which *Cæsar* had made with the King of *France*, had entered into a just Suspicion that he should not be able to obtain of him reasonable Conditions, and that he had a Design to oppress the rest of *Italy*; and the Danger was every Day the more imminent, as the Surrender of the Castle of *Milan* approached.

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Reasons
inclining
the Pope
to a War
against
Cæsar:

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He was provoked by the repeated Injuries of the Imperial Generals, who, after the Capitulation of *Madrid*, had sent a Regiment of *Italian* Foot to quarter in the *Piacentine* and *Parmesan*, where they did infinite Damage; and the Pontiff complaining of it, they answered that they were come thither of their own Authority because they were not paid. He was also disturbed at Things perhaps more trifling, but interpreted, as it happens under Suspicions and Complaints, in the worst Sense. For *Cæsar* having published in *Spain* certain Edicts against the Authority of the Apostolic See; by virtue of which his Subjects were prohibited to try Causes relating to the Benefices of those Kingdoms in the Courts of *Rome*, a *Spanish* Notary had the Boldness to enter the Court of Chancery in *Rome* the Day appointed for hearing Causes, and to notify to the Parties, in the Name of *Cæsar*, that they should desist from pleading in that Court. And it did not only appear that, by the Releasement of the Most Christian King, the Knot was unty'd which had held the Minds of every one in

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in Perplexity, that the *French* would desert the League for the sake of recovering their King, and the Company of the King of *France* was known to be of much greater Importance to the Undertaking than that of the Mother and of the Government besides would have been, but also the other Opportunities seemed greater; for the Insurrection of the People of *Milan* appeared of no small Moment, and from the Scarcity of Provisions in that State it was judged that it would be of great Advantage to attack the Imperialists before they should have the Convenience, by means of the Harvest, to victual all the strong Towns before the Castle of *Milan* should be lost, and *Cæsar* have longer Time to send Recruits and Money into *Italy*. It came under Consideration also that the King of *France*, who, from the Memory of past Transactions, was probably distrustful of the Pontiff, not finding in him any hearty Disposition to the War, might resolve to observe the Agreement made at *Madrid*, or confirm it anew. And it was not doubted but the Conjunction of such great Forces by Land and by

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Sea, with the Means for supporting the Charges, tho' burthensome, for a long Time, would procure the Confederates a great Superiority in the Operations of the War over *Cæsar*, who was deserted by all others, and exhausted of Money. The only Scruple that pleaded to the contrary was the Fear the King would desert the other Allies for regaining his Children, as the like Doubt had been raised of the Government of *France* when the King was a Prisoner. The Case however was reckoned different; for, by taking up Arms against *Cæsar*, under so many Advantages, the Hopes that the King would recover his Children by Force appeared so great, and the Success would prove so highly to his Reputation, that he had no Cause to hearken to a particular Agreement, which would be not only attended with Disgrace to himself, but turn out greatly to his own Prejudice, if not at present, yet certainly in Futurity. For by permitting *Cæsar* to reduce *Italy* under his Obedience, the Kingdom of *France* must at last be greatly endangered; from which Reason it was likewise inferred, that he would think himself obliged to engage in the War with the greater Vigour, since it must be the Result of a very weak Counsel to confederate

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federate against *Cæsar*, and by that means to deprive himself of the Recovery of his Children by observing the Agreement, and yet, on the other hand, neglect the Pursuit of such Measures as would put him in Hopes of gloriously obtaining their Redemption by Force of Arms.

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THOSE who reasoned in this Manner considered perhaps more what was fit and reasonable to be done, than the Genius and Prudence of the *French*; an Error, which is certainly oftentimes incurred by the Consultations and Judgments that are passed on the Wills and Dispositions of others: Or rather, perhaps, they have not perfectly considered how easily Princes, who are often conscious of their own Inclination to prefer Interest to Faith, persuade themselves of the same in other Princes; and that on this Motive the King of *France* suspecting that the Pontiff and *Venetians*, as soon as they were secured from the Power of *Cæsar*, by the Conquest of the Dutchy of *Milan*, would disregard, or become averse to his Interest, judged the Length of the War more expedient for his Purpose than the Victory, as the more likely Means to induce *Cæsar*, tired and

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Pope re-
solves to
enter into
a War
against
Cæsar.

exhausted with Troubles and Expences, to restore him his Children by a new Agreement. But the Pontiff, moved by the foregoing Reasons, but much more by repenting that he had sat idly waiting the Success of the Battle of *Pavia*, and had been censured and reproached for his Timidity by every Body, by the Cries of all his Ministers, of the whole Court, and of all *Italy*, which laid to his Charge that the Apostolic See, and all *Italy* had been reduced to such a dangerous Situation thro' his Fault, resolved at last not only to enter into a Confederacy with the King of *France* and with the others against *Cæsar*, and to hasten the Conclusion of it, as well for other Respects, as especially that Provision might be made in Time for relieving the Castle of *Milan*, before it should be constrained by Famine to surrender to the Enemy.

THIS Necessity was the Cause of all the Calamities that followed; for otherwise, by proceeding more slowly, the Pontiff, on whose Authority the *Venetians* had no small

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small Dependence in that perplexed Junction, might have waited to see whether *Cæsar*, provoked by the Non-observance of the Capitulation by the King of *France*, would propose, for the common Security, those Conditions which he had drawn up before, when he had been necessitated to take up Arms; and, not being constrained to shew himself to the King of *France* under such great Necessity, he would have obtained of him better Conditions for himself and for the *Venetians*. But without doubt the Articles of the Confederacy should have been more distinct, the Security for the Observance better established, and at last the War should not have been commenced before the *Swiss* had been put in Motion, and all the necessary Provisions actually in Readiness; and perhaps the League would have been strengthened by the Accession of the King of *England*, with whom they had no Time to treat on account of the Distance. But it appearing to the Pope and to the *Venetians* that it was of the highest Importance to be expeditious, on account of the Danger of the Castle, they immediately, tho' very

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very privately, dispatched away Orders to their Agents to conclude the Confederacy; and, for the greater Expedition, they were referred, with little Variation, to the same Articles which had before been debated with the Regentess. But fresh Advices continually arriving of the Distress of the Castle, the Pontiff began to consider that, because the direct Road from *Rome* to the Court of *France* was stopped, it was necessary to send the Dispatches a long Way about thro' *Switzerland*, and that some Difficulties might easily arise in capitulating, which would unavoidably take up so much Time as might happen to retard the Conclusion of the Confederacy so long that, if the Provisions for the Succour of the Castle were deferred till after the Treaty was signed, it was to be feared that they would come too late. Consulting therefore on this dangerous Point with the *Venetians*, who were pressed also by the Agents of the Duke of *Milan* residing in *Rome* and *Venice*, and by many of his Partisans, who proposed divers Schemes, it was resolved to prepare such a Force as might appear sufficient to relieve the Castle, and

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and to employ it for that Purpose as soon A. D.
as they should have Advice from *France* 1526.
of the Conclusion of the League, and in
the mean time to encourage the People of
Milan with Hopes, and to foment various
Conspiracies, Schemes of which had been
laid before them, in the Towns of that
State. Wherefore it was jointly concluded
that the *Venetians* should order the Duke
of *Urbino* to march with all Expedition to
their Frontiers towards the River *Adda*,
with their Men at Arms, and Six Thou- Preparati-
sand *Italian* Foot ; and that the Pontiff ons of the
should send Count *Guido Rangone*, with Pope and
Six Thousand Foot, to *Piacenza*. And Venetians.
because it appeared necessary to have a
large Body of *Swiss*, no less than Twelve
Thousand, as the Duke of *Urbino* signi-
fied to the *Venetians*, in order to obtain a
compleat Victory ; and the Pontiff and the
Venetians, being cautious of discovering
themselves so openly against *Cæsar* before
they were certified that the League had
been signed, were willing to send into
Swisserland Agents of their own to levy
them, they hearkened to *Gianjacopo de'*
Medici, a *Milanese*, who had been Gover-
nor

A. D. 1526. nor of the Castle of *Mus*, but taking Advantage of the Times, and being well acquainted with the Strength of the Place, had made himself Lord of that Fortrefs. He informed them that some Months before he had held Correspondence with several *Swiss* Officers for that Purpose, and offered, on the receipt of Six Thousand Ducats, immediately to put in Motion a Body of Six Thousand *Swiss*, not levied by Decree of the Cantons, but privately, who must receive the Complement of their Pay as soon as they were descended into the Dutchy of *Milan*. And as it happens in Enterprises which on one hand are accounted easy, and on the other pushed forward by the Straitness of Time, not only this Man's Offer, especially being approved by the Ministers of the Duke of *Milan*, and by *Ennio*, Bishop of *Veruli* (whom the Pope intrusted with the Affairs of the *Swiss*, because he had long managed them in the Name of the Church, and therefore had, by his Order, resided many Months at *Brescia*, and at that Time attended the *Venetian* Proveditor, whence he was continually treating with

with many of that Nation) was, without further Consideration, accepted by the Pope and *Venetians*, but also Credit was given in *Venice* to the Proposal of *Ottaviano Sforza*, Bishop of *Lodi*, who offered to raise a great Number of *Swiss* with Ease, and was immediately, by the Senate, without otherwise consulting the Pontiff, dispatched to *Swisserland*, to raise Six Thousand more in the same Manner, and with the same Payments. The Want of a right Understanding in those Affairs was one main Cause, as will appear hereafter, of confounding an Enterprize which was set on foot with so fair a Prospect of Success.

BUT while these Preparations were making in *Italy*, *Cæsar*, beginning to entertain Suspicion from the Delays interposed to the Ratification, sent Orders to the Viceroy of *Naples*, who with the Hostages and Queen *Eleonara* had stopped at the Town of *Vittoria*, in order to conduct them to the King as soon as he had fulfilled the Articles of the Capitulation, to repair, in Company with
Alarcone,

A. D. Alarcone, to the King of France, who
 1526.

was removed from *Bayonne* to *Coignac*, and thoroughly to inform himself of his Intentions. Though the Viceroy was received with very great Honour and Carresses, both as the Minister of *Cæsar*, and as the Person to whom the most Christian King acknowledged himself in a great measure indebted for his Liberty, he found him quite averse from parting with *Burgundy*, sometimes excusing himself by pretending that it would be almost impossible for him to obtain the Consent of the Kingdom, sometimes alledging that he would never have freely consented to a Promise which was so highly prejudicial to the Crown of *France*, that it was not in his Power to fulfil it. But as he was desirous of maintaining the Friendship begun with *Cæsar*, and to perfect the Affinity, he would be content, all other Matters resting on the same Foot that had been agreed between them, to pay unto *Cæsar*, instead of giving him *Burgundy*, Two Millions of Crowns, professing that nothing else induced him to confirm, with this Moderation, the Confederacy

King of
France
 refuses to
 yield
Burgundy.

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federacy made at *Madrid*, but the great Inclination that he had to live in good Correspondence with *Cæsar*, since he did not want for Offers and Incitements from the Pontiff, from the King of *England*, and from the *Venetians* to renew the War. This his Answer and his ultimate Resolution both the Viceroy signified to *Cæsar*, and the King sent one of his Secretaries to *Madrid* to make the same Declaration. Hence it proceeded that, tho' the Commissioners of the Pontiff and the *Venetians*, so much before desired, arrived at the same Time, yet the King, more inclined to an Agreement with *Cæsar*, and therefore determined to expect an Answer to this new Expedient, of which the Viceroy had given him Hopes, began openly to delay the Conclusion of the Confederacy, not wholly dissembling, because it was impossible to keep it secret, that he was treating of a new Agreement with *Cæsar*, which having been proposed to him by the Viceroy, it could do no Hurt to hear it, but giving strong Assurances, tho' he had resolved otherwise in his Mind, that he would come to no Conclusion

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Conclusion if the Restitution of his Children were not attended with the Evacuation of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Security of all *Italy*. This Demur would have been sufficient to strike a Damp upon the Spirits of the Pontiff, if his Suspicions had not taken such fast Hold of him, that he could not but imagine that a Confederacy with the King of *France* was the only Remedy for his Affairs.

BUT it is very surprizing and almost incredible how mightily *Cæsar* was disturbed in Mind on receiving Advice from the Viceroy, confirmed by the Declaration of the *French* Secretary ; for it grieved him extremely to relinquish his Hopes of recovering *Burgundy*, highly desired by him for the Augmentation of his Glory, and of the Conveniency of that Province for greater Attempts. He was in a great Passion with the King of *France*, who, by violating his Promises, and forfeiting his Word of Honour which he had given him, gave a manifest Demonstration to all the World that he despised him. And he was touched to the quick with a Kind of Shame for having,

contrary

contrary to the Advice of almost all those about him, contrary to the unanimous Opinions of his whole Court, contrary to what had been foretold, after being advertised of the Agreement from *Flanders*, by the Princess *Margaret*, his Father's Sister, and against the Judgment of all his *Italian* Ministers, by making a wrong Estimate of the Importance and Condition of Affairs, persuaded himself that the King of *France* could not fail to observe the Agreement. In the Midst of these troublesome Reflections recollecting himself, and diligently calculating what was suitable to his own Dignity, and in what Dangers and Difficulties his Affairs might yet, in any Case, remain involved, he determined not to alter the Article that mentioned the *Restitution of Burgundy*, but rather agree with the Pontiff, and consent to reinstate *Francesco Sforza*, as thinking it more becoming him to pardon a lesser Prince, than, by yielding to the Will of a potent Prince, and one jealous of his Greatness, to betray a kind of Fear; and chusing rather to engage in a most dangerous War against him, than forgive

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the Injuries he had received from the King of *France*. For he doubted that the Pontiff, seeing his Friendship despised, had totally alienated his Affections from him ; and his Suspicion was increased on being informed that he had not only sent a Person to *France* to congratulate the King, but had publicly ordered thither an Ambassador; and still much more because His Holiness had newly enlisted into his Service, under Colour of securing the maritime Ports of the Church from the *Moors*, *Andrew Doria*, with Eight Gallies, and a yearly Pension of Thirty-five Thousand Ducats. This Agreement, considering the Quality of the Person, and that the Pontiff had never before thought of a maritime Force, and because *Doria* had been several Years in the Pay of the King of *France*, excited a Jealousy that it was made with an Intention to raise Disturbances in *Genoa*. Wherefore, preparing himself for all Adventures, he made at once a Multitude of Provisions, and hastened the Passage of the Duke of *Bourbon* into *Italy*, which before had been retarded ; ordering that his Seven Gallies

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1526.

Gallies which lay at *Monaco* should sail from *Italy* to *Barcelona*, to join with some others ; and taking Care that he should carry with him into *Italy* a Supply of One Hundred Thousand Ducats, because his going thither without Money was of no Purpose. He appointed Don *Ugo di Moncada* to be dispatched to the Pontiff, with a Commission, as he publicly gave out, to give him Satisfaction ; but this was under Limitations, for it was designed that he should go first to the Court of the King of *France*, with a View that, getting Intelligence of the Viceroy whether there were any Hopes that the King would observe the Agreement, he might then either proceed no farther, or, if he proceeded, that his Instructions should be altered according to the State and Exigencies of Affairs. But to every salutary Counsel of the Pontiff was opposed the Danger of the Surrender of the Castle of *Milan*, which was now reduced to the greatest Extremity, with the Fear that by some Means or other a Conjunction might be established between the King of *France* and *Cæsar*, and the Uncertainty of what might be the

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1526.

Consequence of the Coming of Don *Ugo di Moncada*, which gave Room for Suspicion in that he was first to call at the Court of *France*, and tho' he should proceed to *Italy*, the Diffimulation and Artifices of the *Spaniard* were to be suspected afterwards. Wherefore the Pope, together with the *Venetians*, solliciting the Conclusion of the Confederacy, the King at last, after he had been convinced by the Coming of Don *Ugo di Moncada* that *Cæsar* was averse from altering the Articles of the Capitulation, fearing that his longer Delay to enter into the League might induce the Pontiff to new Resolutions, and judging that by this Confederacy his Affairs would appear to *Cæsar* in a more advantageous Light, and that Fear might perhaps in some measure bend his Mind, and render him more flexible, stimulated also to the same Purpose by the King of *England*, who more by Persuasions than Effects promoted the Conclusion of the Treaty, casting away all other Thoughts applied himself solely to the Business of the League, which at length on the Seventeenth Day of *May*, 1526, was concluded
between

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between the King's Deputies of the Council on one Part, and the Agents Plenipotentiaries of the Pontiff and of the *Venetians* on the other, importing:

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1526.

League
between
the Pope,
King of
France,

THAT between the Pontiff, the King of *France*, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan*, for whom the Pontiff and the *Venetians* engaged themselves for his Ratification, there should be a perpetual League and Confederacy, for the Purpose of causing the Dutchy of *Milan* to be left free to *Francesco Sforza*, and of procuring Liberty to the King's Children: That the League made should be intimated to *Cæsar*, and that it should be in his Power to enter the same within the Term of Three Months, on restoring to the King his Children, receiving for their Liberty a reasonable Ransom, which should be determined by the King of *England*, and also on leaving the Dutchy of *Milan* entirely in the Possession of *Francesco Sforza*, and the other States of *Italy* in the same Condition as they were in before the Beginning of the last War: That at present, for the Relief of *Francesco Sforza*, besieged in the

and *Ven-*
tians.
The Ar-
ticles.

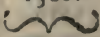
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Castle of *Milan*, and for the Recovery of that State, the Campaign should be opened with Eight Hundred Men at Arms, Seven Hundred Light Horse, and Eight Thousand Foot for the Pontiff; with Eight Hundred Men at Arms, One Thousand Light Horse, and Four Thousand Foot for the Share of the *Venetians*; and with Four Hundred Men at Arms, Three Hundred Light Horse, and Four Thousand Foot to be provided by the Duke of *Milan*, as soon as it lay in his Power, and in the mean time the Pontiff and *Venetians* were to furnish out the Four Thousand Foot for him: That the King should immediately send into *Italy* Five Hundred Lances, and during the War should pay every Month to the Pontiff and *Venetians* Forty Thousand Crowns, with which *Swiss* Infantry should be raised: That the King should immediately take the Field against *Cæsar*, on the other Side of the Mountains, on what Quarter should appear most convenient, with an Army of at least Two Thousand Lances, and Ten Thousand Foot, with a sufficient Train of Artillery: That he should fit out Twelve Light Gallies,

lies, and the *Venetians* Thirteen at their own Charges: That the Pontiff should join with these the Gallies which he had hired with *Andrea Doria*: That the Charges of the Ships necessary for the said Fleet should be in common; and that the Fleet should sail against *Genoa*: That, after the *Cæsarean* Army in *Lombardy* should be overthrown or weakened, a powerful Attack should be made both by Sea and Land on the Kingdom of *Naples*, with which, after its Conquest, the Pontiff might invest King whom he thought fit; but it was provided, in a separate Article, that it should not be in his Power to dispose of it without the Consent of his Allies, retaining however the ancient Tribute accustomed to be paid to the Apostolic See, and a State in his Gift of the Revenue of Forty Thousand Ducats: That to satisfy the King of *France* that the Victory which should be obtained in *Italy*, and the Acquisition of the Kingdom of *Naples* would facilitate the Releasement of his Children, in such a Case, if *Cæsar*, within Four Months after the Loss of that Kingdom, should think fit to enter the

A. D. 1526. Confederacy on the Conditions abovementioned, it should be restored to him ; but on his Refusal the Kingdom of *Naples* should be bound, for Perpetuity, in an annual Tribute to the King of *France* : That the King of *France* should not, at any Time, nor for any Cause, be at Liberty to molest *Francesco Sforza* in the Dutchy of *Milan*, but, on the contrary, should be obliged, together with the Allies, to defend him against every one, and to procure, as much as lay in his Power, a new Confederacy between him and the *Swiss* ; but should receive of him a yearly Tribute, to be determined by the Pontiff and the *Venetians*, tho' no less than Fifty Thousand Ducats : That *Francesco Sforza* should take to Wife a noble Woman of *French* Blood, at the King's Choice ; and should be obliged to maintain in a handsome Manner his Brother *Massimiliano*, in room of the yearly Pension which he received from the King : That the County of *Asti* should be restored to the King, and that, on the Recovery of *Genoa*, he should have the same Superiority in that City

City as he had enjoyed in Times past ; and A. D.
1526. that if *Antoniotto Adorno*, the present Doge,  thought fit to accede to the League, he should be accepted, but on acknowledging the King of *France* for his Superior, in the same Manner as had been done a few Years before by *Ottaviano Fregoso* : That all the Members of the Confederacy should request of *Cæsar* the Release of the King's Children, and, on his Refusal, it should be denounced to him, in the Name of them all, that they would omit no Means for procuring it: That as soon as the War should be finished in *Italy*, or at least the Kingdom of *Naples* subdued, and the *Cæsarean* Army so much weakened that it could not create any Apprehensions, they should be obliged to assist the King beyond the Mountains, against *Cæsar*, with One Thousand Men at Arms, Fifteen Hundred Light Horse, and Eleven Thousand Foot, or with Money instead of Troops, at the King's Choice : That no Member of the Confederacy should have the Liberty, without the Consent of the others, to make an Agreement with *Cæsar*, who should be permitted to make a Progress

A. D.
1526.

gress to *Rome*, in case he entered into the Confederacy, for the Imperial Crown, with a Number of Troops not formidable, but such as should be directed by the Pontiff, and *Venetians* : That, in case of the Death of any Member of the Alliance, the League should remain firm ; and that the King of *England* should be Protector and Conservator of the same, with Liberty to enter into it, and, if he entered, a State should be assigned him in the Kingdom of *Naples* of the yearly Revenue of Fifty-three Thousand Ducats, and one of Ten Thousand, either in the same Kingdom, or in another Part of *Italy*, to the Cardinal of *York*. The Pontiff refused to have the Duke of *Ferrara* comprehended in this Confederacy, tho' it was desired by the King and the *Venetians* ; but, rather on the contrary, he obtained that in the Confederacy it should be expressed, tho' in general Terms, that the Confederates should be obliged to assist him in the Recovery of those Towns which were in Dispute between the Duke and the Church. As to the *Florentines*, there could be no Doubt but that they were, in effect, comprehend-
ed

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1526.

ed in the Confederacy, the Pope designing not only to make use of their Men at Arms, and of all their Forces, but also to make them concur with him, and even to sustain the greatest Part of the Expences of the War; but, not to disturb the Commerce which those People held with the Towns subject to *Cæsar*, or endanger their Merchants, they were not nominated as Principals, it being only said that, out of Respect to the Pontiff, they should enjoy all the Exemptions, Privileges, and Benefits of the Confederacy as much as if they were expressly comprehended in it, the Pope engaging they should in no manner oppose the League. The Allies had not provided themselves with a Captain General for the Conduct of the Army and of the War, because the Shortness of the Time would not allow them to debate on an Officer who by his Authority, Quality, and the Confidence they could all repose in him, was qualified to undertake so great a Burden, it not being easy to find a Person in whom was a Concurrence of so many Conditions.

THE

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THE League being stipulated, the King, who had not yet wholly cast off all Thoughts of treating with the Viceroy, delayed to ratify it, and to begin with putting his Men at Arms in Motion, and remitting the Twenty-five Thousand Ducats, till the Arrival of the Ratification of the Pope and *Venetians*, who, tho' disturbed in Mind at this Delay, yet, being pushed forwards by the same Necessities, after Ratification, resolved to begin, with all Speed, the Operations of the War, under the Pretence of a Design to succour the Castle of *Milan*. For this End the Pontiff, who had before sent Count *Guido Rangone*, Commander in Chief of the Army of the Church, with his Men at Arms, and Five Thousand Foot to *Piacenza*, ordered thither a Reinforcement of Foot, besides the *Florentine* Men at Arms under *Vitello Vitelli*, their Commander, and *Giovanni de' Medici*, whom he appointed Captain General of the *Italian* Infantry, and declared *Francesco Guicciardini*, at that time President of *Romagna*, his Lieutenant General in the Army.

Francesco Guicciardini promoted by the Pontiff.

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Army, and in all the State of the Church, with very full and almost absolute Power. A. D. 1526.

On the other hand the *Venetians* augmented their Army, of which the Duke of *Urbino* was Captain General, and *Piero da Pesaro* Proveditor, and which was encamped at *Chiari* in the *Brescian*, and both Armies were ordered to begin Hostilities against the *Cæsareans* without any Regard or Delay.

IN the mean time arrived at *Milan* Don *Ugo di Moncada*, who, tho' the Signing of the League was as yet a Secret to the Viceroy and himself, yet, doubting from the Answers of the King, that Affairs could not be accommodated to *Cæsar's* Satisfaction, had pursued his Journey to *Italy*, where, taking with him into the Castle the Protonotary *Caracciolo*, he gave ample Assurances to the Duke of *Cæsar's* Benignity, and endeavoured to induce him to submit himself to his Will. But the Duke answering that he had been necessitated by the Injuries which he had received from his Generals to have recourse to the Assistance of the Pontiff and *Venetians*, without whose

Don Ugo
treats with
the Duke
of Milan.

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whose Participation it was not in his Power to dispose of himself, Don *Ugo* gave him Hopes that it was *Cæsar's* Intention that the Matters with which he was accused should be examined in a summary Manner by the Protonotary *Caracciolo*, a Prelate in whom he could intirely confide, pretending that this was done rather for restoring him the State with the greater Preservation of *Cæsar's* Credit, than for any other Reason, and that, as soon as he had conferred with the Pontiff, he would dispatch these Affairs. He did not however consent that the Siege should first be raised, nor promise to make no Innovation, as the Duke insisted. It is believed, and so it was afterwards reported, that the Powers given by *Cæsar* to Don *Ugo* were very ample, not only of agreeing with the Pontiff, by the Restitution of the Dutchy of *Milan*, but also with the Duke, on his giving Security that, after he was restored to his State, he would do no Injury to *Cæsar's* Interest; but that this Commission was with a Limitation to what should be suggested by the Times and Necessities, and that Don *Ugo*, considering
to

to what Extremity the Castle was reduced, and that to make an Agreement with the Duke would be of no Benefit to *Cæsar's* Affairs, but as it should be a Means of establishing an Agreement with the Pontiff and *Venetians*, judged it of no Use to make an Accommodation with him alone.

AFTER this Don *Ugo* and the Protonotary caused *Morone*, who was imprisoned in the Castle of *Trezzo*, to be conducted to *Moncia*, rather with a Design that the Protonotary should get Information from him, as he was to be Judge of the Cause; than for any other Reason. From *Milan* Don *Ugo*, after this, set out for *Rome*, having first written to *Venice*, requesting the Senate to send sufficient Authority to their Ambassadors at *Rome* to enable him to debate on the present Occurrences. Being arrived in that City, he presented himself, together with the Duke of *Sessa*, before the Pontiff, and declared to him, in haughty Expressions, that it was in his Power to accept of Peace or War; for tho' *Cæsar*, from his good Disposition, was rather inclined to Peace, he

A. D. he was however, in his Mind and Forces,
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Proposals
to the
Pope.

prepared for either. To this the Pope having answered in general Terms, that he was sorry that the ill Usage of *Cæsar's* Ministers, and the Slowness of Don *Ugo's* Coming had been the Cause that, whereas before he was his own Master, he now was under Obligation to others, they returned the next Day, and declared to him that it was *Cæsar's* Intention to leave the Dutchy of *Milan* in the free Possession of *Francesco Sforza*, provided the Castle was deposited in the Hands of the Protonotary *Caracciolo*, till such Time as, for the Honour of *Cæsar*, the Cause should be examined, not to the Bottom, and substantially, but in Appearance, and by way of Ceremony; and that he was willing to terminate the Differences with the *Venetians* by a fair and reasonable Method, and to remove the Army out of *Lombardy*, with the Payment formerly debated, for which Compliances he required nothing of him in Exchange, but only that he would not intermeddle in Affairs between him and the King of *France*.

To

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To this Proposal the Pope answered, A. D.
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That he believed it was known to all the Pope's
Answer.
World how much he had always desired to live in Friendship with *Cæsar*, and that he had never demanded greater Matters of him than those which he himself voluntarily offered, which, as he was more concerned for the common Good than for his own Interest, could not be better calculated for his Satisfaction; that he now continued in the same Sentiments, tho' he had met with many Reasons to alter them; and yet that he heard at present with greater Concern of Mind that his Demands might be granted, than he had felt when they were refused, because it was no longer in his Power, as it had been before, to accept of them, which did not proceed from his Fault, but from *Cæsar's* delaying so long to come to a Resolution. This Delay had been the Cause that, having no Hopes ever given him of securing the common Affairs of *Italy*, and in the mean time seeing the Castle of *Milan* more and more distressed, he had been necessitated, for his own Safety, and that of others, to confederate

A. D. 1526. with the King of *France*, without whose Participation, as he was not willing to be deficient in observing his Engagements, it was not in his Power to come to any farther Determination. In this Answer, notwithstanding many Replies to the contrary, the Pontiff constantly persevering, *Don Ugo* departed from *Rome* in Discontent, as well as the Imperial Generals, on finding all Hopes of a Peace vanished, and all Things tending to a manifest Rupture, which, on account of the Power of the League, and the disorderly Condition of their own Affairs, they imagined would be very difficult for them to support.

AT this Time the Pope's Lieutenant intercepted Letters from *Antonio da Leva*, to the Duke of *Sessa*, informing him of the evil Disposition of the People of *Milan*, and that there was no other Remedy for their Affairs but the Grace of God; and also Letters from him and from the Marquis *del Guasto* to *Don Ugo*, after his Departure from *Milan*, in which they expressed their Sollicitude concerning the Treaty of Agreement, and were instant with

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with him to let them know speedily what Progress he had made in it, putting him in Mind of their Danger, and that of *Cæsar's* Army. But there was not so much Con-

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fidence in the Minds of those who had the Management of the Forces of the League as there was Fear in the Imperial Generals. For the Duke of *Urbino*, who must be considered as having, in effect, the sole Direction of the Armies, on account of his Title of Captain General of the *Venetian* Troops, and because he had not his Equal in Dominion, Authority, and Reputation, having a higher Opinion, perhaps, than was just of the Valour of the *Spanish* and *German* Troops, and distrusting beyond measure the *Italian* Soldiery, had firmly resolved not to pass the River *Adda*, before he had in his Army at least Five Thousand *Swiss*; nay, what is more, being apprehensive that, if he should pass the River *Oglio* with only the *Venetian* Forces, the Imperialists would cross the *Adda*, and march to attack him, he insisted that the Ecclesiastic Army, which was now at *Piacenza*, should pass the *Po*, below *Cremona*, and march to join

Duke of
Urbino
General
of the
Army of
the
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Forces he intended to approach the *Adda*, and strongly intrench himself on the Banks of that River, where he might securely wait the Coming of the *Swiss*, which, besides their natural Slowness, had met with many Difficulties, the Care of conducting them having been imprudently committed to the Governor of *Mus*, and the Bishop of *Lodi*. For both the Vanity of the Bishop was very unequal to that Charge, and the Governor was principally intent on imbezzling Part of the Money that was sent to pay the *Swiss*; and neither of them had Authority enough with that Nation to raise so great a Number of Forces, especially with so small a Quantity of Money, as soon as there would be Occasion for them. This Affair also was much injured by the Emulation that arose between them, being more intent on satisfying their Ambition and private Interest than on any Thing else. The Difficulty was also in some measure increased by the Agents of the King of *France* residing in *Swisserland*, for they had no Intimation of the Sentiments of the King on that Head,

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Head, nor whether it were contrary or conformable to his Intentions, since no Notice had been given to the King of this Step ; which Neglect was not owing to Inadvertency but Premeditation, in conformity to such Counsels as, having an Appearance of much Wisdom, frequently prove too refined ; for *Alberto Pio*, the King's Ambassador residing at the Court of *Rome*, had intimated that, if the King should know, before the Conclusion of the League, that Orders were given to take into Pay a Body of *Swiss*, it was to be feared he would be the more dilatory in concluding it, since he would then take it for an absolute Certainty that the Pontiff and *Venetians* had begun the War against *Cæsar* without him. The Coming of the *Swiss* being then retarded, the principal and most effectual Means for succouring the Castle of *Milan* was also retarded, tho' the Bishop and the Governor gave every Day certain and instant Hopes of their very speedy Arrival.

THE HISTORY OF

BUT the *Cæsarean* Generals, after they saw Preparations openly made for a War, that they might not have to deal with Enemies within and without at once, resolved to secure themselves of the People of *Milan*, who, growing every Day more insolent, not only refused them all the Provisions which they demanded, but if any Soldier was found in the City separated from the rest he was sure of having his Throat cut by the *Milanese*. Taking therefore Occasion from the Disorders which were committed in all Parts of the City, they demanded that some of the Captains of the People should depart out of *Milan*; this occasioning a Tumult, some *Spaniards* who were walking about the Town were murdered by certain of the Populace. On this *Antonio da Leva* and the Marquis, having caused the Troops to approach *Milan* with all Silence, and protested they were no longer obliged by the Agreements made some Days past, on the Seventeenth of *June*, to give Beginning to the Tumult, caused one of the common People, who had not paid them Reverence,

to

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to be killed in their Presence, and after him three others, and then, marching out of their Quarters with a Battalion of *German* Foot, gave occasion to the People to fly to Arms ; and tho' in the Beginning the Old Court, and the Belfry of the Bishopric, where was posted a Guard of *Italian* Foot, were forced by the Populace, yet at last fighting without Order, and, according to the Manner of an unexperienced Rabble, more with Shouts than Arms, and being greatly annoyed by some Harquebusiers, posted on Eminences, which the *Spaniards* had before seized, many of them were wounded and killed; so that the Disorders and Terror continually increasing, and the *German* Foot having begun to set Fire to the neighbouring Houses, and the *Spanish* Infantry called by the Generals already approaching the City, the People, apprehensive of utter Ruin, agreed that their Captains, and many others of the Populace who consented to it, should leave the Town, and that the Multitude should lay down their Arms, submitting themselves to the Obedience of the Generals, who hastened to

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Infurrec-
tion in
Milan
appeased.

appease the Tumult, with these Conditions, before the *Spanish* Foot should come within the Walls, doubting that, if they entered while the Parties were in Arms, it would not be in their Power to restrain the Violence of the Soldiers from proceeding to such a Height as to put the Town to the Sack, which they could by no means approve, as well out of Fear that the Army, enriched by so vast a Prey, would either be dissolved, or considerably diminished, as because, considering the Want of Money, and other Difficulties which they might encounter in the Course of the War, they judged that it was more for their Advantage to preserve that City, that it might be in a Condition to maintain the Army for a long Time, if needful, within its Walls, than to waste and consume all its Strength and Spirits in a Day.

It appeared then that the Affairs of the League did not proceed in so prosperous a Course as they had at first promised themselves, so many Difficulties concurring to retard the Arrival of the *Swiss*, and the Foundation

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Foundation of their Expectations from the People of *Milan* proving defective. But a new Event, which happened unexpectedly, restored in a great measure the Reputation of the Alliance, and rendered the Way to Victory easier and plainer than it was before. Under such miserable Discontent, or rather extreme Despair, of the Dutchy of *Milan*, there had been held, for several Months past, by Contrivance of various Persons, several Plots for Innovations, in almost every City of that State. But others proving abortive one took effect, which was held by the Duke of *Urbino* and the *Venetian* Proveditor in the City of *Lodi*, with *Lodovico Vistarino*, a Gentleman of that Place; who, either out of Concern for the Family of the *Sforzas*, to whom he had been an antient Servant, or moved with Compassion for his native Place, which was treated by *Fabritio Maramaus*, Colonel of a Regiment of Fifteen Hundred *Neapolitan* Foot, with the same Roughness that *Milan* was treated by the *Spaniards* and *Germans*, resolved to introduce into the City the *Venetian* Troops, tho' he was in
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the Pay of the Imperialists. But he himself protested, and the Duke of *Urbino* confirmed it, that he had before demanded and obtained a Discharge, under a Pretence that he was no longer able to maintain the Men under his Command without Money. The Order of conducting the Affair was thus settled : On the Night of the 24th of *June*, *Malatesta Baglione*, with Three or Four Thousand *Venetian* Foot, was, as soon as it grew dark, to approach the Walls at the Side of a certain Bastion, where he was to be let into the City by *Vistarino* ; who, being accompanied by two others, approached that Bastion, which was guarded by six Foot Soldiers, as with an Intent to review them, and, being followed by some others whom he had concealed in certain neighbouring Houses, mounted the Bastion, and began to combat with the Guard. For, tho' he had before given the Word according to military Custom, the Centinels on Suspicion were come to Blows with him, and others running in at the Noise the Bastion was in Danger of being retaken, for the Fight began to grow hot, and *Lodovico*

Lodi surprised by the *Venetians*.

was

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was wounded in the Contest. But when he was now reduced to the last Necessity, *Malatesta* arrived with his Troops, which ascended the same Bastion, by the Help of Scaling-ladders, and entered the Town, whence *Fabritio Maramaus*, who, on hearing the Noise, was advancing towards the Walls with Part of his Troops, was forced to retire into the Castle. The Town was mastered, and most Part of the Foot, which had their Quarters scattered over the City, were disarmed and made Prisoners. Not long after arrived in the Place part of the Troops of the Duke of *Urbino*, who having, in order to approach nearer, marched the Day before, and encamped at *Orago*, on the River *Oglio*, which he passed the next Night, over a Bridge made in Haste, as soon as he was informed of *Malatesta's* Success, passed the *Adda* on a like Bridge, and having placed a stronger Garrison in *Lodi*, to defend it against any Succours that might attempt to enter it through the Castle, immediately returned to the Army. But when the News reached *Milan*, the Marquis *del Guasto*, with some Light Horse, and Three Thousand

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A. D. 1526. Thousand *Spanish* Foot, among whom was *Giovanni d' Urbino*, hastened to *Lodi* without Delay, and having without Obstacle introduced his Foot through the Gate of *Succours* into the Castle, which is situated in such a manner that it may be entered by a natural covered Way, without Danger of Battery or Hindrance from the Flanks of the City, from the Castle he immediately entered the City, and advanced as far as the Market-place, where the Troops that came with *Malatesta*, and the Reinforcement that arrived afterwards, were drawn up in Order, having posted Guards in many of the Houses, and along the Street that reaches to the Gate by which they had entered, in order to secure their Retreat from the Place if they should be overpowered by the Imperialists. The Fight was very brisk in the Beginning, and many were of Opinion that if the *Spaniards* had persisted in fighting they would have recovered *Lodi*, for the *Venetian* Soldiers were known to be sufficiently tired. But the Marquis, either out of Distrust because he had found the Enemy more numerous than he had at first believed,

lieved, or imagining that the *Venetian* A. D.
1526. Army was near at hand, soon quitted the Field, and leaving a Garrison in the Castle retired to *Milan*. The Duke of *Urbino* arrived afterwards, and, boasting that he had passed an Army over two great Rivers, upon Bridges, without stopping, applied himself to secure the Victory, by increasing the Number of Troops in the Place, for making the better Resistance against the Enemy if they should return, and ordering the Cannon to be planted about the Castle. But the Garrison of that Fortrefs expecting no Relief, and because it was very difficult to defend the Place, which, from its small Circuit, was capable but of few Troops, the Night following abandoned it, being received and brought off by a Body of Horse sent from *Milan* for that Purpose.

THE Conquest of *Lodi* was of very great Conveniency, and of no less Reputation to the Affairs of the League, for the City was well fortified, and was one of those which the Imperialists had already designed to defend to the last Extremity.

From

A. D. 1526. From *Lodi* there is an open Road, without any Hindrance, to the Gates of *Milan*, and to *Pavia*; for these three Cities, being situated as in a Triangle, are twenty Miles asunder from each other, for which Reason the Imperialists ordered Fifteen Hundred *German* Foot from *Milan* to *Pavia*. Besides, the Passage of the *Adda*, which was at first thought an Enterprize of some Difficulty, being gained, all Obstructions to the Conjunction of the Armies were removed, and it was rendered impracticable to succour, in case of an Attack, *Cremona*, in which City was General *Curradino* with Fifteen Hundred *German* Foot, and the Enemy was deprived of a very convenient Place for molesting the State of the Church, and that of the *Venetians*. Hence it was the common Voice of all the Army that, by proceeding forwards with Expedition, the Imperialists would be reduced to very great Perplexity and Confusion. But different were the Sentiments of the Duke of *Urbino*, who was absolutely of Opinion that to approach *Milan* without a large Body of *Swiss* would be a very dangerous

dangerous Step. But as he was unwilling to make a full Discovery of this his Judgment to others, he resolved, by slow Marches, and by resting at least a Day in every Encampment, to give Time for the Coming of the *Swiss*, hoping that they must needs arrive in the Army in a very few Days, and disregarding whatever was proposed to be done in case they should not come, tho' from the Progress of that Affair hitherto there was Reason to doubt it. Wherefore the Ecclesiastic Army, the Day after the Acquisition of *Lodi*, being come to an Encampment at *San Martino*, three Miles from *Lodi*, it was concluded in a Common Council that the Ecclesiastics and *Venetians*, after resting one Day more in their respective Camps, should march the next Day and encamp at *Old Lodi*, five Miles from *Lodi*, where they say *Lodi* was built by *Pompey the Great*, and three Miles from the high Road to *Pavia*, on a Road that leads both to *Milan* and *Pavia*, in order to keep the Imperial Generals in the greater Suspense. That Day

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Day the Ecclesiastic and *Venetian* Armies joined as they marched in the Field, being almost equal in Infantry, which together amounted to little less than Twenty Thousand Foot; but the *Venetians* had the Superiority in the Number of Men at Arms, and of Light Horse, with which the Ecclesiastics were continually providing themselves, and much more in the Quantities of Artillery, Ammunition, and all Necessaries. At *Old Lodi*, where they rested the next Day, changing their Minds, they resolved for the future to march on the high Road, for avoiding the Country, which out of the Road is too difficult on account of the Hedges and Ditches, and because it was thought easier to succour the Castle by that Way, which turns towards the Gate of *Como*, than by the Way of *Landriano*, which brings you to the Gate of *Vercelli*, whither it was more difficult to conduct the Army, from the Nature of the Country; and also, because by marching on that Side their Convoys of Provisions would be more secure, and it would

would be easier for them to receive the *Swiss*, because they were more at their Backs. A. D. 1526.

WITH this Resolution the united Army, on the last Day of *June*, advanced to *Marignano*, where, in consulting what was to be done, the Duke of *Urbino* was for expecting the Coming of the *Swiss*, of which there was the same Uncertainty, and perhaps greater than at first, it appearing to him very dangerous to approach *Milan* with raw Troops, levied in Haste, without the Support of those firm and well-disciplined Battalions, tho' there were in that City but few Horse, besides Three Thousand *German* and Five or Six Thousand *Spanish* Foot, and these without Money, and but slenderly provided with Victuals. But this Opinion was contrary to that of many other Officers, who judged that by proceeding in good Order, and always reconnoitring the Place of Encampment the Day before, *Milan* might be approached with Safety, since the Country is every where so difficult as to render it always easy to chuse a very strong Situa-

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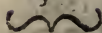
Reasons
against
their slow
Proceed-
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tion for a Camp, and it did not appear to them probable that the *Cæsarean* Army would march out and attack them in the open Field; because it being necessary for them to keep the Castle blockaded, and inconsistent with their Safety, on account of their Jealousy of the People, to leave the City of *Milan* wholly without Troops, the Number they could spare would be too small to attack so great an Army, which, tho' it were newly collected, abounded however in Soldiers experienced in War, and in Officers of the best Reputation in *Italy*. And they could not only approach *Milan* without Danger, but also with Hopes of Victory; for the Suburbs of *Milan* not being fortified, but even, for want of Repairs, open in some Parts, it was not to be supposed that the Imperialists would stand to defend so great a Circuit. That this was their Resolution appeared by manifest Indications, since they gave but little Attention to the Reparation of the Suburbs, but all Hands were at Work in fortifying the City; and if they abandoned the Suburbs, in which the Army might immediately take up its Quarters, it did not

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not seem possible for the City to make a long Defence, not only because the Army was without Money, and had but a small Stock of Provisions, but because it had been always the Opinion of *Prospero Colonna*, and many other Generals, that it was very difficult to defend *Milan* against an Enemy who should be in Possession of the Suburbs, as well because the City is very weak in Walls, which in many Places are filled up with private Houses, as because the Suburbs have an Advantage over the City; and to these Reasons was added, that they had the Castle at their Devotion.

THIS and the other Resolutions depended principally on the Duke of *Urbino*; for tho' he was only General of the *Venetians*, the Ecclesiastics, to avoid Disputes, and because there was nothing to be done without it, had resolved to receive his Directions as Captain General. But the Duke, tho' he was not moved by these Reasons to advance forward, nor by the most earnest Instances which, by Order of their Superiors, were made to him by

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Motions
of the con-
federate
Army.

the Pope's Lieutenant, and the *Venetian* Proveditor, to whose Opinion many others also of the General Officers adhered, be- thought himself however that a long Continuance in that Place, without a greater Certainty of the Coming of the *Swiss*, might turn to his great Scandal and Dis- grace; and therefore, after the Army had halted one Day at *Marignano*, on the third of *July* it proceeded to *San Donato* five Miles distant from *Milan*, the Duke hav- ing resolved to remove forwards more out of Complaisance with the Desires and Opini- ons of others than according to his own Determination, with a Design however al- ways to interpose a Day between one En- campment and the other, to give the more Time for the Arrival of the *Swiss*, a Thou- sand of whom at length having descended into the *Bergamese* took their Way to the Army, and Advices, as usual, were con- tinually received of the Coming of the rest. On the Fifth of *July* then the Army ad- vanced, and passing *San Martino*, encamp- ed Three Miles from *Milan*, on the right Hand of the Road, in a strong and very secure Post, where the same Day they had

a small Skirmish with some *Spanish* Harquebusiers who had fortified themselves in a House, and the Day following, continuing in the same Camp, they had another such Skirmish, and were favoured with the Arrival of Five Hundred *Swiss* commanded by *Cæsar Gallo*. Here a Council was held on the Manner of proceeding forwards; and tho' it had been their first Intention to march directly to the Relief of the Castle of *Milan*, where the Entrenchment that inclosed it on the outside was not so strong but that there were Hopes of surmounting it, yet the Duke of *Urbino* was of Opinion that the Armies should take the direct Way to the Suburbs of *Milan*; and his Council was at last approved by all the rest. For when Councils were held he proposed the Subject, and, without expecting an Answer from others, declared his Opinion, or at least in proposing made Use of such Terms as plainly discovered his Sentiments, in such a manner that the other Generals would not take upon them to contradict him. The Duke alledged that an Attempt to lead the Army, out of the High Road, to the Relief of the Castle, would require a

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long Time because of the Levels which it was necessary to make on account of the Difficulty of the Country, and would be attended with Danger of some Disorder, because their Flank would be exposed too near the Enemies, who also would have the Means given them of making a more powerful Resistance by uniting all their Forces on the Side of the Castle, whereas otherwise they would be necessitated to stand divided in order to resist the Enemy, and not to abandon the Guard of the Castle; and by leading the Forces to the *Roman* Gate the Generals of the League would have it always in their Power to turn themselves with Ease, as from Day to Day it should appear reasonable, to what Quarter they pleased. Pursuant to this Counsel it was resolved that on the Seventh Day the Armies should encamp at *Bufaletta* and *Pillastrelli*, Country Seats standing on the high Road half a Mile distant from *Milan*, within Cannon Shot, with an Intention from those Quarters to observe and take such Measures as should appear to be good and reasonable from Opportunities and the Motions of the Enemies; who, in the
Opinion

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Opinion of many, would, as soon as they saw the Armies encamped so near them, not think of putting themselves on the Defence, especially by Night, of the Suburbs, because in several Places the Ditches were filled, and the Ramparts levelled, and on some Quarters so open that they could hardly be defended.

BUT the Night before the Army was to proceed forwards the Duke of *Bourbon*, ^{Duke of Bourbon arrives at Milan.} who a few Days before was arrived at *Genoa* with Six Gallies, and Bills of Exchange for One Hundred Thousand Ducats, entered with Eight Hundred *Spaniards* on Foot, whom he had brought with him, into *Milan*, to the great Satisfaction of the Marquis *del Guasto*, and *Antonio da Leva*, who had earnestly solicited his Coming. His Arrival put new Spirits in the Soldiers, and by the same might be comprehended the affected Negligence, and cold Disposition of the King of *France* with respect to the War *. For the Pontiff having in the

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* Though the King of *France* hated *Cæsar's* Greatness, he was willing that the War should be prolonged, in Hopes by that Means to facilitate the Releasement of his Children. *Bugatto.*

A. D. Beginning, when he took into his Pay
1526. *Andrea Doria*, consulted with him about
the Forces and Provisions required for
making an Attempt upon the *Genoese* Estab-
lishment, that Admiral gave him his
Opinion that it was a very easy Enterprize,
if undertaken at the Time that the War
should commence in the Dutchy of *Milan*,
and if his own Eight Gallies were joined
to those that the King of *France* had in the
Port of *Marseilles*, or if at least the Arrival
of *Bourbon's* Gallies were prevented. For
as, in such a Case, he would remain Lord
of the Sea with his Eight Gallies, the
City of *Genoa* could not subsist many Days
under a Blockade by Sea, excluded from
all Commerce, Exercises, and Provisions
supplied by the Benefit of the Waters.
And tho' the King had promised to pre-
vent the Coming of the Duke of *Bourbon*,
his Word was of no Signification, for his
Fleet was not in Order, and the Cap-
tains of his Gallies, partly for Want of
Money, partly out of Negligence, and
perhaps out of Design, had their Payments
delayed, as it also happened afterwards to
the Men at Arms.

BUT

BUT the Arrival of the Duke of *Bourbon* A. D. 1526. being unknown to those without the City, the Resolution of advancing forwards with the Army was frustrated by the Duke of *Urbino*, either on account of some Advices received, as it is believed, from *Milan*, Vain Confidence of the Duke of Urbino. or of Intelligence by some Spy; whence, getting free of that Diffidence with which he had been hitherto possessed, he assured the Pontiff's Lieutenant, in the Presence of the *Venetian* Proveditor, that he held it for certain that the next Day would turn out most happily; for if the Enemies came out to fight, which he did not believe they would venture to do, they would infallibly be overcome; but if they came not forth, he was confident that they would either abandon the City of *Milan*, and retire to *Pavia*, or at least, leaving the Defence of the Suburbs, would reduce all their Strength within the City, which after the Loss of the Suburbs they could by no means defend; and any one of these Three Events was sufficient to secure the Success of the War.

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THE next Day therefore, which was the Seventh of *July*, omitting the Encampment which they had designed the Day before, in Hopes of gaining the Suburbs without Dispute, and aspiring after the Glory of having taken them by Assault on their March, a Company of Harquebussiers by his Order pushed forward to the *Roman Gate*, and to the Gate of *Tosa*, where tho' they had received Advices for some Days before, and on that same Day, that the *Spaniards* intended to abandon those Places, they found them posted in those Parts of the Suburbs, not with a Design, as it was said, of making a continued Resistance, but in order to make their Retreat into *Milan* rather like military Men, who had shown their Faces to the Enemy, and were unwilling that they should find the Suburbs abandoned out of Cowardice. By such Resistance they did not only more effectually maintain the Reputation of their Army, especially as it was always in their Power to retire into the City without Disorder, but also some Accident might possibly happen, which might encourage them to persist in the Defence of the

Army
of the
League
before
Milan.

the Suburbs; which was a Point of very great Moment, since a Retreat into the City was rather a Measure to be taken out of Necessity, than from a spontaneous Choice, as well for other Reasons as because, by reducing the Troops within so narrow a Compass, it would be easy for the *Italians* to prevent the Entrance of Provisions into *Milan*, without which it was impossible for the Troops within the Walls to subsist for any Length of Time, because new Corn had not yet been brought to Market. The Harquebusiers then presenting themselves at the Two Gates, where the *Spaniards*, besides defending themselves, were incessantly at Work in fortifying themselves, the Duke, who had met with Resistance contrary to Expectation, caused Three Cannon to be brought before the *Roman Gate* within Bowshot; which being planted, he began briskly to batter the Gate, and endeavoured to dismount a Falconet. This done, he caused a good Number of his Men at Arms to dismount in order to give the Assault, and directed Scaling-Ladders to be brought. He did not however continue in his Resolution

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1526.

A. D. 1526. lution to storm the Place, and so the Action

ended in some slight Skirmishing and Play of the Small Arms on each Side, in which those within the Ramparts had a great Advantage in Respect of Situation, and killed of those that were without about Forty Foot, and wounded many. The Gate in the mean time had received many Shot, but with inconsiderable Damage, because the Cannon was at too great a Distance; but the Duke saying it was time to pitch the Camp, did not give the Assault, and so the Army returned to the same Place. tho' in some Confusion on account of the Shortness of Time. He left a good Guard on the Three Pieces of Cannon, and the rest of the Camp extended almost all on the right Hand of the Road, every one promising himself the Victory: For by a Multitude of Advices, and by the Report of some Prisoners taken by *Giovanni di Naldo*, who was in the Pay of the *Venetians*, they were credibly informed that the Imperialists had packed up great Part of their Baggage, and were in Motion, in order for their Departure rather than otherwise; and the same Evening seasonably arrived

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ed in the Camp Six Cannon of the *Vene-*
tians.

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BUT soon after not only the Hopes but the whole State of Affairs was altered; for about the Beginning of the Night some *Spanish* Foot having made a Sally in order to attack the Artillery were repulsed by the *Italian* Foot appointed to guard it; but the Duke of *Urbino* would have it that the *Italians* had been put into Disorder, and after a few Hours of the Night had passed, finding himself deceived in his Hopes, and that Resistance had been made at the Gates and Ramparts of the Suburbs, and, while he was considering, the Fear which he had at first conceived of the Enemy's Infantry returning upon him, he took a precipitous Resolution to decamp with the Army, and immediately began to put it in Execution, by first ordering the Artillery and Ammunition to be sent away, and commanding the *Venetian* Troops to put themselves in Readiness for a March, and sent Notice, by the Proveditor, to the Lieutenant, and Ecclesiastic Generals of his Resolution, desiring they would concur in the same without

Duke of
Urbino
decamps
from *Mr.*
lan in a
Hurry.

out

A. D. 1526. out Delay. At this Message, not only sudden, but contrary to every one's Expectation, being confounded, and in a manner astonished, they went to wait upon him, that they might inform themselves more particularly of his Designs, and try to induce him not to depart. He declared to them, in very positive and resolute Terms, that he reflected with Grief that, contrary to his own Opinion, and meerly for the Satisfaction of others, he had approached so near *Milan*; but that it had more of Prudence to correct an Error when committed, than obstinately to persist in it. He knew, he said, that because the Army yesterday had not regularly encamped on account of the Shortness of Time, and by the Cowardice of the *Italian* Infantry, so visibly displayed the same Evening in the Attack of the Artillery, that the Stay of the Army in that Place till next Week would prove not only the Ruin of the Enterprize, but of the whole State of the League; for he was so certain that they would be defeated, that, not having the least Doubt of it, he would not dispute it with any one, since the Imperialists had the same

His Reasons.

same Evening planted a Saker between A. D. 1526.
the *Roman* Gate and the Gate of *Tosa*,
which took the very dangerous Quarter
of the *Venetian* Infantry in Flank, and
more would be planted that same Night;
and as soon as it was Day, the Alarm be-
ing given, and the Army necessitated to
put themselves in Order, the Cannon from
the Place would take them in Flank, and
put them in such Disorder, that the Enemy
fallying forth, and attacking them in this
shattered Condition would break them with
the greatest Ease. He was sorry, he told
them, that the Shortness of Time, and
the Encumbrances of his Army with a
much greater Quantity of Artillery and
Ammunition than was with the Ecclesia-
stic Forces had constrained him to begin the
Decampment before he had communicated
it to them; but that in Resolutions taken
out of Necessity Excuses are superfluous:
That he had made a greater Experiment
than had ever been made by any General,
having ventured to march directly * to give
an

* *Essendoli mosso di Cammino a dare l'Assalto, &c.* Hav-
ing put himself off his March on attacking, &c. where
di Cammino imports without sitting down before the Place,
and opening the Trenches.

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an Assault to *Milan*; and that now it was necessary to use Prudence, and not to despair of the Success of the Enterprize, on account of the Retreat: That *Prospero Colonna* had raised the Siege of *Parma* when half taken, and perhaps for less just Reasons, and yet not long afterwards had gloriously acquired the whole Dutchy of *Milan*. He advised the Ecclesiastics to follow his Resolution, and decamp without Delay, because (repeating what he had said before) if the Sun found them in their present Quarters they would be routed and utterly ruined without Remedy, and that there was no Way to avoid it but by returning to the Camp at *San Martino*.

Guicciardini's Answer to the Duke's Reasons.

THE Lieutenant answered, that, tho' every one believed that his Resolutions were taken with the highest Prudence, yet not one of those Officers knew any Cause that should precipitate him to decamp in such a Hurry. He represented to him what the Duke of *Milan* would do, on seeing his Retreat, and despairing of Succours; how greatly it must discourage the Pontiff and the *Venetians*, and the Impressions which, by the Decline of Enterprizes, especially in the Beginning,

Beginning, are usually made on the Minds of Princes: That if the disorderly Manner of encamping had been the Cause of so much Danger, it might be easily remedied, without depriving that Army of so great a Measure of Reputation, by encamping it anew in better Order, and retiring with it so far as should be sufficient to secure it from the Enemy's Cannon.

The Duke confirmed anew his first Conclusion, adding, that he could not by the Rules of War take any other Resolution; A. D. 1526. Duke persists in his Resolutions.


that he would take the Blame upon himself, and that all the World should know that he had been the Author of it; that it was not proper to waste any more Time in talking to no Purpose, since it was necessary to be gone from thence, before the Night was past. With this Conclusion every one returned to his Quarters, and applied himself to put himself in Readiness to hasten and press the March of the Troops, of which those who were foremost broke up in such Terror, that going off with a Show much like that of Men who had been routed, Multitudes of the *Venetian* Horse and Foot went off in a straggling Manner,

A. D. some of whom never stopped till they
 1526. reached *Lodi*, and the Artillery of the *Venetians* passed beyond *Marignano*, but being recalled, it rested in that Place. The rest of the Troops, and especially the Rear-Guard, decamped in good Order; and *Giovanni de' Medici*, who was with the Ecclesiastic Foot in the very Rear of the Army, would not move till it was broad Day, as not thinking it proper to carry off with him, instead of an expected Victory, the Disgrace of running away by Night.

Censured. That this Step had not been necessary was demonstrated by Experience, for none of the Imperialists sallied out to attack the Rear of the Army, but, on the contrary, having, as soon as it was Day, observed so tumultuous a Decampment, were struck with the highest Admiration, not knowing how to guess at the Cause. And the Shame of this Retreat was yet the more increased, because the Duke had declared that it was his Will that the Troops should halt at *San Martino*, and yet gave private Orders to the *Venetian* Camp-Masters to conduct their Men to *Marignano*, induced either by Fear that the Enemy would
 come

come immediately and attack him in that Camp, or, at least, as he himself confessed afterwards, assuring himself that the Castle of *Milan*, on seeing the Retreat of the Succours which had appeared for its Relief, which, above all Things, strikes a Terror into such as are besieged, would not delay to surrender, in which Case he would not have ventured to continue at *San Martino*, he judged it less dishonourable to retire all at once, than to make two Retreats in so short a Time; and therefore the Artillery, Baggage, and foremost Squadrons of the *Venetian* Army marched on towards *Marignano*, without halting at *San Martino*. When the Lieutenant desired to know of the Duke the Reason of this Proceeding, he answered that it was not because he made any Difference between this and the other Place in point of Security, for he thought himself as safe from the Enemy in the Camp at *San Martino* as in that of *Marignano*; but because the Troops, being fatigued with the Actions of the preceding Days, might with more Conveniency repose, and put themselves in Order without receiving any Molestation

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A. D. 1526.  lestation from the Enemy at *Marignano*. And

when it was replied that in this equal Security of both Quarters the Retreat of the Army to *Marignano* would in a greater measure deprive the Besieged in the Castle of *Milan* of Hopes of Relief than a Halt at *San Martino*, he answered in high Words that, while he held in his Hand the Staff of Command over the *Venetians*, he would never suffer any Encroachments upon his Authority, but was resolved to march and encamp at *Marignano*; so that both Armies, with sufficient Dishonour, and with very loud Clamours of all the Soldiers, since he might well say, contrary to the Words of *Cæsar*, VENI, VIDI, FUGI †, were conducted to *Marignano*. Here the Duke resolved to settle his Quarters till there should arrive in the Camp not only the Number of Five Thousand *Swiss*, which was the utmost that was promised by the Governor of *Mus*, and by the Bishop of *Lodi*, who arrived with Five Hundred at the very Time when the Camp broke up, but also as many more as should make the whole

† I came, I saw, - I ran away; contrary to that of *Cæsar*, *Veni, Vidi, Vici*, I came, I saw, I overcame.

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whole Number Twelve Thousand; be- A. D.
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cause giving the Castle of *Milan* for lost, he was of Opinion that it was impracticable to reduce the City by Force, or to a Necessity of surrendering for Want of Necessaries, without two Armies, each of them sufficient to resist the whole united Force of the Enemy.

THUS did the Armies retreat from the Walls of *Milan* on the Eighth of *July*, to the great Concern of many, not only for the Consequences of the Thing, but also at the Inauspiciousness of the Omen; for on the same Day, by common Consent of the Confederates, the League was proclaimed at *Rome*, at *Venice*, and in *France*, with the usual Ceremonies and Solemnity: And indeed, in the Opinion of most Men, there was so little Occasion for taking so reproachful a Step, that many doubted that the Duke had been induced to it by some secret Orders from the *Venetian* Senate, who, for some Purpose unknown to the rest, was desirous of prolonging the War: Others supposed that the Duke, retaining the Memory of the

Various
Reasons
assigned of
the Duke's
Conduct.

A. D.


1526.

Injuries which he had received from *Leo*, and from the present Pope when he was a Cardinal, and fearing that his Greatness would endanger his own State, was, either out of Hatred or Fear, unwilling that the War should so soon be brought to a happy Conclusion; especially since he had just Reason to suspect the Mind of the Pontiff, because the *Florentines* were in Possession of *San Leo* with the whole *Monte Feltro*, and he knew that the little surviving Daughter of *Lorenzo de' Medici* always bore the Title of Dutches of *Urbino*. However the Lieutenant of the Pontiff was certified by most indubitable Proofs that the *Venetians* were very much displeased at this Retreat, and that they had never ceased solliciting him to conduct the Army before *Milan*, in great Hopes of an easy Victory. But considering that it was not probable that the Duke, if he had conceived any Expectations of obtaining *Milan*, would have been willing to deprive himself of a Glory, as much superior to what had been gained by any other General for a long Time past, as the Fame and Reputation of the Imperial Army exceeded

ceeded that of any other Army which had ^{A. D.} for many Years before appeared in *Italy*, ^{1526.} the Consequence of which Glory would almost of necessity have been the Security of his State; for the Pontiff, both for the Sake of avoiding so great a Reproach, and that he might not offer so high an Affront to the *Venetians*, would not have presumed to attack him; and also diligently considering the Proceedings during the whole Time, the Lieutenant thought it more likely, as did many others who were of the same Sentiments, that the Duke being fallen from the Hopes with which he had Two Days before flattered himself, that the Imperialists must be obliged at least to abandon the Suburbs, returned with such Positiveness to his first Opinion, by which he had conceived a greater Dread of their Forces, and a greater Distrust of the Valour of the *Italian* Infantry than the other Generals had imagined of them, that Fear, making a deeper Impression on him than on the others, had precipitated him into this Resolution.

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 THIS Retreat greatly disturbed the Pontiff and *Venetians*, whose Hopes were augmented to such a Degree that they expected Day after Day to hear of the Acquisition of *Milan*, but especially the Pontiff, who was not prepared either with Money, or with Constancy of Mind for a long War, and discovered also many Difficulties arising in his Way both at *Rome* and in other Parts of his State. For Three Hundred *Spanish* Foot, and a Number of Horse who were in Garrison at *Carpi* began to ravage all the circumjacent Country of the Church, doing vast Damage; they also greatly obstructed the Passage of Couriers and Money from *Rome* and *Florence* to the Army, which could not be obviated by placing small Garrisons in the Towns: And the Pontiff having entered into the War with but a small Stock of Money, and being over-burthened with immense Expences, could hardly with his own Money, and what was brought him from *Florence* on account of the War, make Provisions sufficient to repress them, especially as he was employed in a new Enterprize in *Tuscany*,
 and

Pope em-
 barrased.

and necessitated to stand on his Guard on the Side of *Rome*. For Don Ugo, and the Duke of *Sessa* having discharged their Embassy, *Ascanio* and *Vespasiano Colonna* assembling their Men in the Castles of the *Colonnas* in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, made many Feints of raising some Disturbances on the Side of that City, and some of their Partisans had already fortified themselves in *Alagno*, a Town of the *Campagna*. And the Pontiff was constrained to have a principal Regard to these Motions on account of the *Ghibellin* Faction at *Rome*, since but a few Days before he had discovered some Marks of an evil Disposition in the *Roman* Commonalty against himself. For when he had hired *Andrea Doria*, under Pretence of securing the *Roman* Seas from the *Moorish* Pirates, which gave no small Obstruction to the Commerce and Plenty of the City, and in order to support the Expence had augmented certain Duties, the Butchers, out of a Reluctancy to pay them, assembled in a tumultuous Manner before the House of the Duke of *Sessa*, who had not as yet left *Rome*, whither also almost

A. D. almost all the *Spaniards* that lived in *Rome*
 1526. ran armed; but this Tumult was easily
 appeased.

*Meditates
 an At-
 tempt up-
 on Siena.*

THE Pontiff at this Juncture had stood doubtful and hesitating whether it were best to make an Attempt for changing the State of *Siena*, there being a Disagreement in the Counsels of those who were about him. For some, putting much Confidence in the great Number of Exiles, and in the Confusion of the Popular Government, would persuade him that it would be very easy to change it, representing to him the Importance of securing himself of that City in the present Situation of Affairs, because, in case of any Misfortunes that might happen, the Receptacle which that Place might afford to the Enemy must be very prejudicial to the Affairs of *Rome* and of *Florence*. Others asserted that it was more prudent to bend the whole Force against one Place, with little or rather no Diversion at all from the principal Effects, than to be intangled in so many Enterprises, since at last they who should remain superior in *Lombardy* would

would remain superior every where else; and that no such mighty Confidence ought to be placed in the Forces or Adherents of the Exiles, the Hopes of which almost constantly proved most fallacious, as to imagine that a Change in that Government should be attempted without powerful Provisions, which it would be difficult for him to make, as well on account of the Greatness of the Expence, as because he had sent all his principal Officers to the Wars in *Lombardy*.

THESE Reasons would perhaps have prevailed with him, if those who had the Administration of the public Affairs at *Siena* had proceeded with that Moderation which, in Matters of small Importance, Inferiors ought to observe towards their Superiors, having more Regard to Necessities than to a just Indignation. But it happened that long before one *Giovambattista Palmieri*, a *Senese*, who had obtained of the Republic the Command of One Hundred Foot in *Siena*, having given the Pontiff Hopes that as soon as his Troops approached *Siena* he would introduce

Deluded
into a Plot
against *Siena*.

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troduce them into the Place through a common Shore, that passed under the Walls close to a Bastion ; and the Pontiff having at his Request sent him Two Foot Soldiers, in whom he could confide, one of whom *Giovambattista* made his Ensign-bearer, the Magistrates of the City, with whose Privity *Giovambattista*, deluding the Pontiff, carried on the Plot, when they saw a convenient Time, apprehended the Two Soldiers, and after proceeding against them with all the Formalities of Law, and divulging every where the Plot, made them suffer their due Punishments by a public Execution, in order to disgrace, as much as they could, the Pontiff. Besides, a few Days after they sent some Troops to besiege *Giovanni Martinozzi*, one of the Exiles, who resided in the Territories of *Siena*, in his Seat of *Montelifre*.

THE Pontiff, exasperated at these Proceedings, as intended to affront him, resolved to attempt the Restoration of the Exiles to *Siena*, with his own Forces and those of the *Florentines*, but with weaker

weaker Provisions than the Enterprize required, especially of Foot in Pay. Nor was the Weakness of the Army compensated by the Worth and Authority of the Commanders, who, by the Pope's Appointment, were *Virginio Orsino* Count of *Anguillara*, *Lodovico* Count of *Pitigliano*, and *Giovanni Francesco* his Son, *Gentile Baglione*, and *Giovanni da Sassatello*. The Generals, after mustering their Forces at *Centina*, marched to the *Tavernelle* on the *Arbia*, a River famous in the Days of our Ancestors for the memorable Victory obtained by the *Ghibellins* over the *Guelfs* of *Florence*, and on the Seventeenth of *June* approached the Walls of *Siena*, with Nine Pieces of Artillery, Twelve Hundred Horse, and above Eight Thousand Foot; but almost all of them either Militia from the Dominions of the Church and of the *Florentines*, or Men sent, without Money, to the Exiles, by their Friends, from the *Perugine* and other Places: And at the same Time *Andrea Doria* with the Gallies, and some Marines attacked the Ports of the *Senese*. But when they approached the Walls of *Siena* no Signal
of

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Siena be-
lieged.

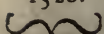
of a Tumult appearing from those within the Place, as the Exiles had expected, it was necessary to sit down with the Army, and lay a formal Siege to the City, in which were Sixty Horse, and Three Hundred foreign Foot. Wherefore having approached the Gate of *Camollia* they began to batter the Wall on that Side. But the City was strong by Situation, and had been fortified, and was of so large a Circuit that the Army did not invest half of it, and the People, whose Hatred of the Pontiff and the *Florentines* prevailed over their Affection to the Exiles, were disposed and united for the Preservation of their present Government. On the contrary, in the Army of the Exiles the Troops that had no Pay were of no Service, the Officers of little Reputation, and there were no small Divisions among them; the Exiles disagreed not only in their Resolutions and daily Preparations, but were at Variance also about the Form of the future Government, taking upon them already to share and appoint among themselves without what could only be regarded and settled by them who were within; so that
after

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after battering the Walls to no Purpose, A. D.
1526. and not daring to give the Assault, they began to entertain but little Hopes of Success.

BUT at the same time the Difficulties of the Confederates increased in *Lombardy*: For tho' the Five Thousand *Swiss* inlisted by the Governor of *Mus* and the Bishop of *Lodi* were at length arrived in the Army, yet the Number not appearing sufficient to the Duke of *Urbino*, those were expected who had been ordered to be demanded of the Cantons in the Name of the King of *France*, with Hopes that they would be very ready to grant them, if for no other Reason, yet at least for abolishing the Ignominy contracted in the Battle of *Parvia*, and that from the same Motive the Troops granted would proceed to the War, especially in such great Hopes of Victory, with an uncommon Ardor. But in that Nation, which a few Years before, on account of their Valour, and of the Reputation which they had gained, had a very fair Opportunity offered them of acquiring a very large Empire, there was

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The *Swiss*
degenerate
and
avaricious

no longer that eager Desire of Glory, nor Care of the Interest of the Commonwealth; but, full of insatiable Covetousness they proposed for their chief End in military Services the returning to their Houses laden with Money. The Cantons therefore negotiating military Affairs after the Manner of Merchants, either publicly taking Occasion from the Necessities of others to increase their own Profit, or full of venal and corrupt Men, granted or refused their Troops as best suited these Ends; and the Officers who were solicited to list them, that they might have the more advantageous Conditions, the more urgent they saw the Necessities of others, the higher they raised the Price, making most impudent and intolerable Demands. From these Motives the King having requested of the Cantons, according to the Articles of the Confederacy which he had contracted with them, to grant him the Foot which by common Consent were to be paid with the Forty Thousand Ducats which the King of *France* had disbursed, the Cantons, after long Consultations, answered, according to their Custom, that they

they would not grant them Troops before the King had satisfied them for all that was due to them on account of the Pensions which he was obliged to pay them every Year. This amounting to a large Sum, and being difficult to be paid off in a short Time, the King's Agents were necessitated, after obtaining Leave from the Cantons, tho' not without Difficulty, to enlist private Officers; which Method, besides occasioning a Delay very pernicious in the State in which Affairs were situated, did not proceed with that Stability and Reputation as if the Troops had been obtained of the Leagues.

ON this Occasion the Imperialists receiving in the mean while no Molestation from the Enemy, who remained unactive at *Marignano*, applied themselves, with the greatest Sollicitude, to fortify *Milan*, not the City, as they did in the Beginning of the War, but the Ramparts and Bastions of the Suburbs, no longer doubting, from the Courage which they had assumed, and the Diminution of the Adversary's Reputation, of their Ability to defend them.

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Miserable
State of
Milan.

And having disarmed the People of *Milan*, and turned the suspected Persons out of the Place, they had not only freed themselves from their Doubts and Apprehensions concerning them, but having reduced them to a most miserable Slavery took no Care to pay the Soldiers, who, being quartered about in the Houses of the *Milanesè*, did not only constrain the Masters of the Houses to provide for them every Day plentiful and delicate Food, but also to supply them with Money for all other Uses, which Necessity required, or Appetite craved, not sparing to make use of the most rigorous Means of all Kinds to procure them. These Burdens being insupportable, the *Milanesè* had no other Remedy but to endeavour to fly out of *Milan* privately, for it was prohibited to do it publicly. Hence for preventing such Attempts many of the Soldiers, especially the *Spaniards*, for the *German* Foot had more Modesty and Gentleness, kept many of their Landlords tyed in their Houses with their Wives and little Children, most Part of every Age and Sex being also exposed to their Lust. Wherefore all the Shops in
Milan

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Milan stood shut up, and every one had taken Care to hide the Goods that were in their Shops, the Riches in their Houses, and the Riches and Ornaments of the Churches, in subterraneous or otherwise remote Places. And yet this was not enough wholly to secure them; for the Soldiers, under Pretence of searching for Arms, went about diligently ranging over all Places in the City, forcing also the Servants in the Houses to make Discoveries of the Effects of their Masters, of which when found they left what Part they pleased to the right Owners. Hence the Face of that City was miserable beyond Measure, lamentable was the Aspect of the Inhabitants, reduced to the utmost Sorrow and Fear; a Circumstance sufficient to excite the tenderest Commiseration, and an incredible Example of the Mutability of Fortune to those who but a little before had seen it thronged with Inhabitants, and for the Wealth of the Citizens, for the infinite Number of Shops and Schools*, for the Abundance and Delicacy of all Things pertaining to human Life,

A. D.
1526.

A. D.

1526.

for the superb Grandeur, and most sumptuous Ornaments as well of the Men as of the Women, and from the Nature of its Inhabitants, who are addicted to Feasts and Diversions, not only full of Joy and Gladness, but most flourishing and happy above all other Cities of *Italy*. And now it appeared desolate as it were without Inhabitants, through the dreadful Havock which the Plague had made in it, and the Absence of those who were fled, or were continually flying; Men and Women were to be seen in negligent and very mean Attire, there was no more any Mark or Sign of Shops and Schools, by whose Means vast Riches were usually conveyed into that City, and the Alacrity and Boldness of the Men were wholly converted into the Height of Grief and Fear. The People however were in some measure comforted by the Arrival of the Duke of *Bourbon*, persuading themselves that since he had brought with him, as it was reported, a Supply of Money, and that, by the Retreat of the Army of the Confederacy, the Necessities and Dangers appeared to be in some measure diminished, those intolerable

intolerable Grievances, and bitter Imposi-
 tions would in part be removed. And A. D.
1526.
 they were much more in Hopes that the
 Duke, on whom it was publicly talked
 that *Cæsar* had bestowed the Dutchy of
Milan, would, for his own Benefit, and
 for preserving the Revenues and Estate of
 the City more entire for his own Interest,
 take Care that for the future they should
 not be so miserably perverted. And in-
 deed this was the only Hope that was left
 them, for the Ambassadors they had sent
 to *Cæsar* were sensible that there was no
 Remedy to be expected from him, either
 because he was incapable of making those
 Provisions which were necessary for their
 Welfare on account of his being too far off, or
 because he was much less affected, as Expe-
 rience had often demonstrated, with Com-
 passion on the Oppressions and Miseries of
 the People, than with a Desire to maintain,
 for the Interest of his State, the Army,
 which not being paid at due Times, neither
 he himself nor his Generals could prevail
 with them to abstain from Insolences and
 Injuries; and they were the more tolerat-
 ed because the Officers, both for acquir-
 ing

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ing the Good-Will of the Soldiers, and because the Exposition of all Things to Rapine was attended with some Emolument to themselves, were not displeased with this military Licentiousness, since they had some Excuse for tolerating it from the Failure of Payments. Wherefore all the Citizens of *Milan*, whose Circumstances distinguished them from the vulgar Sort, assembled in a great Body, and expressing in their Countenance, in their Habit, and in their Gestures, the miserable State of their Country, and of every Individual among themselves, went in a Train, and with Abundance of Tears and Lamentations presented themselves before the Duke of *Bourbon*, to whom one of them, on whom the rest had laid that Charge, spoke, as I am informed, to the following Purport.

Speech of
a *Milanese*
to the
Duke of
Bourbon. “ IF this miserable Country of ours, which has always, for very just Reasons, desired to have a Prince of its own, were not at present oppressed with more bitter and more atrocious Calamities than any City in the Memory of Man ever suffered,
your

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your Arrival, most illustrious Duke, would have been welcomed with the most joyful Acclamations. For what greater Happi-
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1526.

ness could attend the City of *Milan* than to receive a Prince given her by *Cæsar*, of most noble Blood, and whose Wisdom, Justice, Valour, Kindness and Liberality, we ourselves have often on various Occasions experimented? But our most iniquitous Fortune constrains us to lay before you (for we have no Hopes nor Expectations of any Remedy from others) our extreme Miseries; greater without Comparison than those which Cities subdued by the Force of Enemies usually suffer from the Avarice, from the Hatred, from the Cruelty, from the Lust, and from all the other enraged and greedy Passions of the Conquerors. These Things, in themselves intolerable, are rendered yet more grievous by the Reproaches, which at every Turn are cast upon us, as if they were inflicted as a Punishment on the People of *Milan* for their Disloyalty to *Cæsar*, taking it for granted that the Tumults excited some Days since had been excited by public Consent, and not, as it is well known, by

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some seditious young Men, who rashly stirred up the Rabble, who were secured by their Poverty from losing any Thing, and are by Nature desirous of Innovations; who readily imbibing vain Errors, and false Persuasions, are pushed forwards by the Direction of him who stirs them up, as the Waves of the Sea are driven by the Blasts of the Winds. It is not our Intention to excuse or alleviate the present Charge by recounting the Number and Quality of the Actions which have been in past Years performed by the People of *Milan*, from the chief of the Nobility to the lowest of the Commonalty, for the Service of *Cæsar*; when our City, from its antient Devotion to the *Cæsarean* Name, rose up in Arms, with so much Readiness, against the Governors, and against the Army of the King of *France*; when after that we sustained, with so much Constancy, two very hard Sieges, voluntarily delivering up our Store of Provisions and our Houses to accommodate the Soldiers, and very readily supplying them when they wanted their Pay from *Cæsar*; exposing with so great Alacrity, in the Com-
pany

pany of the Soldiers, our own Persons day and night on all Guards, to all military Actions, and to all Dangers ; when, on the

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Day of the Fight at *Bicocca*, the People of *Milan* with such Fierceness defended the Bridge, by which alone the *French* were in Hopes to penetrate into the Quarters of the *Cæsarean* Army. At that Time *Prospero Colonna*, the Marquis of *Pescara*, with the other Generals, and even *Cæsar* himself, magnified our Loyalty, and praised up to the Skies our Constancy. Who is a better and more certain Witness of these Facts than yourself, who was present in the War of the Admiral, who saw, commended, and often was even surprised at so unshaken a Fidelity, at so ardent a Disposition ? But let the Memory of these Things be obliterated, let not Demerits be compensated by Merits, let present Deeds be taken into Consideration. We refuse no Punishment, if there should appear any Mark of Disaffection in the People of *Milan* towards *Cæsar*. They had certainly a great Love for *Francesco Sforza*, as a Prince who had been given them by *Cæsar*, as one whose Father, Grand-

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Grandfather, and Brother had been our Sovereigns, and for the Expectations which had been formed of his Virtues. For these Reasons we were very much concerned at his being despoiled of his Dominions in so sudden a Manner, without knowing the Cause, not being certified that he had plotted against *Cæsar* ; on the contrary it was asserted by himself, and by many others, that this Treatment proceeded rather from the covetous Ambition of him who at that Time governed the Army, than in Obedience to the Orders of *Cæsar* ; and yet the whole City took an Oath of Fidelity to *Cæsar*, and submitted to the Commands of his Generals. This was the Resolution of the City of *Milan*, this the public Consent, this the Counsel, and especially of the Nobility. What Reason then, what Justice, what Example will allow that it should be thus cruelly harrassed and ruined for the Misdemeanours of particular Persons? But did not our Fidelity appear even on the very Days of the Tumults? For in the Insurrection of the Multitude, who but we interposed with Authority and

and Intreaties to make them lay down A. D. 1526.
their Arms? Who but we, on the last
Day of the Tumult, persuaded the Ring-
leaders and the seditious young Men to
leave the City, and the Multitude to sub-
mit to the Commands of the Generals?
But both the Commemoration of our
Works, and our Justification from the
Calumnies with which we are aspersed,
would perhaps be necessary or convenient,
if the Punishments which we suffer were
proportionate to the Crimes of which we
are accused, or at least if they did not
greatly transcend them; but how wide is
the Difference! For we may venture to
say, most just Prince, that if the Offences
committed by each of us had been more
heinous than ever were the Offences
and Wickednesses committed by Cities
against its Prince, the Pains, or, we may
rather say, the Bitterness of the Punish-
ments which we for no Cause endure,
would be greater, without Comparison,
than what we should have deserved. We
may venture to say that all the Miseries,
all the Cruelties, all the Barbarities (for
our Honour's sake not to mention Lust)
which

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which were ever in the Memory of Man endured by any City, by any People, by any Congregation of Inhabitants, all these Evils collected together make but a small Part of what we every Day, every Hour, every Moment of Time groan under, spoiled in a Moment of all our Goods, free Men constrained by Torments, by private Prisons, by Chains cast about the Bodies of many of us by the Soldiers, to supply them continually with Victuals, not such as are in use with military Men, but fit for Princes, to furnish them with all those Things which their craving Appetites, or greedy Covetousness require, and to give them every Day more Money, which being impossible to procure they make use of Menaces, Injuries, Blows, and Wounds, so that there is not one of us who does not take it as a great Favour, and distinguishing Mark of good Fortune, if, leaving all his Substance for a Prey, he can but save his Person, and escape bare-footed from *Milan*, on condition of losing for ever his Country and his Goods. *Frederic Barbarossa*, in the Days of our Great Grandfathers, laid this
City

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City desolate for a Time, he exercised A. D.
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his Cruelties upon the Inhabitants, upon the Houses, and upon the Walls; and yet the Miseries of those Times were not to be compared with ours, not only because the Cruelties of an Enemy are more easy to be tolerated, as being more just, than the unjust Cruelty of a Friend, but also because a Day, or Two or Three Days, would satiate the Anger and Bitterness of the Conquerors, and put an End to the Punishment of the Conquered. But we still continue after more than a Month to struggle under these severe Miseries, our Torments increase every Day, and, like the Damned in another Life, we endure without Hopes of an End, what at first we should have believed impossible for the human Constitution to have supported. We are in Hopes however that your Magnanimity, your Clemency will undertake our Succour in such Evils, will take Care to provide that a City, become by lawful Right your own, committed to your Trust, shall not, with such great Barbarity, be abandoned to total Destruction; that by winning our Hearts with so
just

A. D. 1526. } just a Pity, and by deserving to be had in
everlasting Remembrance as the Father
and Restorer of a City so renowned thro'
the World, you will in one Day lay a firm-
er Foundation for your Government in
the Benevolence and Devotion of your
Subjects, than other new Princes will be
able to lay with Arms and Forces in many
Years. To conclude, all that we have far-
ther to say is, that if, for any Reason what-
soever, your Inclination should not prompt
you to deliver us from such Evils, if any
Impediment lie in the Way that cannot
be removed, we beseech you, from the
Bottom of our Hearts, that you will cry
Havock, and let loose upon all this People,
upon us all, upon every one, upon all Ages
and Sexes, the Fury, the Arms, the Swords,
and the Artillery of the Army; for it will be
an unspeakable Happiness to us to die a
violent Death, rather than to linger out
a Life under the present Miseries and
Punishments. Nor will you be less cele-
brated for your Pity, if you can find no
other Way to relieve us, than they will
be infamous for their Barbarity, nor will
it

THE WARS IN ITALY. III

it be less joyful to us to finish in this Manner a most unhappy Life, nor will those who love us rejoice less at our Death, than Fathers and near Kindred are now used to do at the Birth of Children and of other dear Relations.”

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THIS Speech was followed by the miserable Lamentations and Complaints of all the rest; to whom the Duke answered with the greatest Mildness, declaring that he was heartily sorry for their unhappy Condition, and was no less desirous to relieve and be beneficial to that City, and to the whole Dutchy of *Milan*; alledging in Excuse that what had been done was not only contrary to the Will of *Cæsar*, but also to the Intentions of all the Generals; and that Necessity, because they had found no Means for paying the Soldiers, had induced them rather to consent to these Abuses than to abandon *Milan*, or endanger the Army, and expose all the Dominions of *Cæsar* in *Italy* as a Prey to his Enemies: That he had indeed brought with him some Provision of Money, but not sufficient,

The
Duke's
Answer.

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ent, because the Soldiers were many Payments in Arrears. However if the City of *Milan* would furnish him with Thirty Thousand Ducats for the Pay of one Month, he would conduct the Army into Quarters out of *Milan*; declaring that, tho' he knew they had been deceived at other Times with the like Promises, they might very safely depend on his Word and Honour; adding an Imprecation, that his Head might be taken off by the first Ball that should be fired from the Enemy's Cannon, if he should not make good his Promise to them. This Sum, tho' very considerable to a City so greatly exhausted, yet, the Misery of quartering Soldiers exceeding all other Calamities, the Condition proposed was accepted, and Measures were taken for collecting it with all possible Speed. But tho' Part of the Soldiers, on receiving the Money according as it came in, were sent to quarter in the Suburbs of the *Roman* and *Tosan* Gates, there to guard the Ramparts, and help to fortify them, as they were at Work also on an Entrenchment towards the Garden, in the Place where *Prospero Colonna* had made

made one, yet they kept Possession of the same Quarters, as much as those who had remained within the City, and committed the same Outrages; *Bourbon* either making no Account of his Promise, or unable, as it is supposed, to resist the lawless Will and Insolence of the Soldiery, fomented also by some of the Generals, who, either out of Ambition or Hatred, wilfully raised Difficulties, and obstructed the Execution of his Purposes.

THE People of *Milan* deprived of this Hope, having no farther Expectations nor Refuge, fell into such Despair, that, as we are well assured, some of them, to put an End to such intolerable Miseries and Punishments by Dying, since they found it impossible to do it by Living, threw themselves from high Places into the Streets; others, miserable Spectacles! hanged themselves; nor was this sufficient to moderate the Rapaciousness and savage Barbarity of the Soldiers. Very miserable also at this time was the Condition of the Country, oppressed and exhausted, without the least Compassion, by the Sol-

Misery of
Milan and
of the
Country.

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was at first expected by the Inhabitants with the greatest Joyfulness, but they had now by their Rapines and Extortions converted the Benevolence of the People into the highest Degree of Hatred. But such is the general Corruption of the Military of our Times, who, taking Example from the *Spaniards*, ravage and ruin Friends as well as Enemies without Distinction. For tho' the Licentiousness of the Soldiers had for many Ages been great in *Italy*, yet it had received infinite Augmentation from the *Spanish* Infantry, but for a Reason, if not just, at least necessary, because in all the *Italian* Wars they had been very ill paid. But as from Examples, tho' excusable in the Beginning, the Proceedings are always from bad to worse, the *Italian* Soldiers, tho' not under the same Necessity, because they were paid, yet, following the Example of the *Spaniards*, have begun to be no way inferior to them in their Enormities, whence, to the great Reproach of the Military of the present Age, the Soldiers make no longer any Difference between Friends and Foes, but ravage and

and do as much Mischief to the People and Countries which they are paid to defend, as to those they are paid to distress and invade. A. D. 1526.

By this time the Provisions in the Castle of *Milan* were so far spent, that the Besieged apprehended they must soon of Necessity surrender themselves. But being desirous to hold out as long as they could, because some of the chief Officers of the Army of the Allies continued feeding them with Hopes of Relief, in the Night before the Seventeenth of *July*, they turned out, by the Gate of the Castle which looks towards the Entrenchment that inclosed it on the Outside, above Three Hundred Persons, between Foot, Women, Children, and useless Mouths ; and tho' at the Noise which they made the Enemy's Guard gave the Alarm, yet meeting with no other Opposition, and the Entrenchment being so narrow as to be passable by the Help of Pikes, they all got over safe. There were Two Trenches at the Distance of Two Stone-casts from the Castle, and be-

A. D. 1526. twixt them was a Rampart of about the

Height of Four Braces, which served not only as a Guard against the Castle, but also secured the Trenches against all Attacks from the Side towards the Field. The People that escaped went on to the Army at *Marignano*, and there attesting the great Extremities to which the Besieged were reduced, and the Weakness of the Entrenchments, which had been passed by Women and Children, prevailed on the Generals to return, and make an Attempt to relieve the Castle, with the Consent of the Duke, who was not willing to take upon himself alone the Trouble of making Excuses, which were not so easy to be made as before, because, there being now in the Army above Five Thousand *Swiss*, there was no longer Room for the principal Reason which he had assigned of his Inactivity, which was the Danger of approaching *Milan* with none but *Italian* Foot.

It was therefore unanimously resolved in Council that the Army should, without making any further Attempts on any

any other Part, directly approach the ^{A. D.} Castle, and, taking Possession of the ^{1526.} Churches of *San Gregorio* and *Sant' Angelo* near the outer Trench, post themselves under *Milan*. With this Resolution they broke up from *Marignano*, and, after a difficult March of Four Days by a Road encumbered with Banks and Ditches, on the 22d of *July* arrived between the Abbey of *Casaretto* and the River *Ambro*, in a Place commonly called the *Ambra*. Here the Duke, varying from what had at first been resolved in Council, would have the Army encamp with its Front towards the Abbey, less than two Miles from *Milan*, and the *Ambro* at its Back, extending itself on the Right Hand to the Key, and on the Left to the Bridge, so that it might be said to be posted between the two Gates of *Renza* and *Tosa*, because it took in a little of the new Gate, and in those Respects, and by the Nature of the Country, it was a very strong Quarter. The Duke had chosen this Situation before that of the Monasteries, because, as he said, it was nearer the Castle, and not so much under the

Faint and
unsuccess-
ful At-
tempt to
relieve it.

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Walls as to necessitate him to expose himself to Danger, or to be deprived of the Liberty of turning himself which Way he pleased; and because the Enemies, threatened at several Quarters, would be obliged to keep strong Guards at several Places, which, considering the Smallness of their Number, would increase their Difficulties. The Army arriving at this Post, a small Detachment the same Day took Possession of the Town of *Moncia* by Capitulation, and the next Day, by a Cannonade, took the Castle, in which were an Hundred *Neapolitan* Foot. And now the Debates in Council turned all on what was to be done for throwing Provisions into the Castle of *Milan*, reduced, as they were assured, to the utmost Necessity, and for procuring, as they intended, a safe Egress to *Francesco Sforza*: And tho' many of the General Officers, either because it was really their Sentiment, or to shew themselves courageous and valiant in Matters which must be determined with greater Hazard of the Honour and Reputation of others than of their own, advised an Attack of the Entrenchment, yet

yet the Duke of *Urbino*, who judged it a very dangerous Attempt, not by openly contradicting, but by proposing Difficulties, and spinning out the Time, prevented the coming to a Conclusion. The Resolution then being deferred till the next Day, the *Swiss* Generals demanded to be introduced into the Council, in which they were not ordinarily present. The Governor of *Mus*, who had enlisted most of the *Swiss*, and therefore retained among them the Title of Captain General, spoke for them, and declared that the *Swiss* Generals were surpris'd that, since the War was begun for succouring the Castle of *Milan*, and Affairs were in so necessitous a Situation, they should boggle and hesitate, when there was Need of Spirit and Execution, and stand wasting the Time in Disputes whether the Castle should be relieved or not: That it was not to be supposed but that they would take such a Resolution as should be conducive to the common Safety, and redound to the Honour of such great Generals, and of so great an Army; in which Case they would let the Council know that they should

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Words of
the *Swiss*
in the
Council.

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take it as a very great Reproach and Affront if, in their Approach to the Castle, they were not assigned that Place and Share of the Fatigue and Danger which the Honour and Faith of the *Helvetic* Nation deserved; and could not dispense with themselves from putting them in Mind, that in taking this Resolution they were not to keep in Memory the Actions of those of their Countrymen who had shamefully ruined the Enterprises in which they had been concerned, so as to forget the Glory and good Fortune of those who had come off Conquerors.

WHILE the Time was wasted in these Consultations, every one clearly perceiving that the Duke was of Opinion that the Castle could not be relieved, News came, though not as yet quite certain, that the Besieged had capitulated, or were on the Point of capitulating, with the Imperial Commanders. The Duke, giving Credit to this Advice, said, before all the Council, that this Event, though pernicious to the Duke of *Milan*, was desirable and beneficial to the League, which was by that means delivered from its Apprehensions

prehensions that an ambitious Desire or ^{A. D.} Necessity of succouring the Castle would ^{1526.} induce the Army to take some precipitate Step: That those who had ever persuaded themselves that the Place might be relieved were highly imprudent, and that now, being delivered from that Danger, they were at Liberty to concert new Measures, and to give new Directions for managing the War in the same Manner as if it were the first Day of its Beginning.

Soon after certain Advice came of the ^{Castle of} Agreement, for the Duke of *Milan*, the ^{*Milan* sur-} Garrison being reduced to such Extremities for Want of Food that it could hardly subsist one Day, and utterly despairing of Relief, since the Army of the League, which had arrived two Days before in a Quarter so near, was observed to make no Motion, proceeded on the Treaty which he had for several Days, in order to be prepared in such a Case, been negotiating with the Duke of *Bourbon*, who, as soon as the Army had retired, had sent into the Castle to visit him, and concluded the Capitulation on the Twenty-fourth of *July*. By the Articles he was to surrender, ^{The Ar-} ^{ticles.}

A. D. der, without Prejudice to his Rights, the

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Castle of *Milan* to the Generals, who were to receive it in the Name of *Cæsar*, having Liberty from them to march out in Safety, together with all those who were in the Castle, and Leave to stop at *Como*, which was assigned him for his Residence with its Government and Revenues, till *Cæsar's* Resolution on the Affair should be signified, and the Revenues were to be increased by an additional Income, making the Whole amount to the yearly Sum of Three Thousand Ducats: That the Generals should grant him a Pass for his going to *Cæsar* in Person, and should be obliged to pay the Soldiers in the Castle, whose Arrears to that Time were said to amount to Twenty Thousand Ducats: That *Gianangelo Riccio* and *Politiano* should be delivered into the Hands of the Protonotary *Caracciolo*, that he might examine them, passing his Word to release them afterwards, and to get them conducted to a Place of Safety: That the Duke of *Milan* should set at Liberty the Bishop of *Alessandria*, who was a Prisoner in the Castle of *Cremona*, and that *Castel-*

nuovo

nuovo in the *Tortonese* should be given to *Sforzino*. There was no Mention made in this Agreement of the Castle of *Cremona*, the Surrender of which the Duke, when he could no longer hold out against Hunger, had ordered *Jacopo Filippo Sacco*, whom he had sent to the Duke of *Bourbon*, if there was no other Way to obtain an Agreement, to promise the *Cæsarean* Generals. But *Jacopo* perceiving by their Speeches, and their Way of Management, their extraordinary Willingness to come to a Convention, and pretending that the Duke would never be persuaded to give up that Castle, obtained that not a Word should be said about it. For the Imperial Generals, though pretty well assured, from a Multitude of Conjectures, that there was not much Provision in the Castle, and that Necessity would soon put them in Possession of what they desired, yet being willing to secure themselves of it, they had resolved to accept it on any Conditions, not being certain that the Army of the League would not attempt to succour it; in which Case, being under Apprehensions that the Trenches could not well be defended,

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fended, they had determined to march out and give Battle in the open Field, which dubious Event of Fortune they voluntarily avoided, and accepted what they could get from the Duke. The next Day the Duke marched out of the Castle, and was attended by many of the Imperial Officers to the Barriers of the Army, from whence, after he had tarried there a Day, he set out for *Como*. But the Imperialists pretending that they had engaged to allow him a secure Residence in *Como*, but not to remove the Troops which were there in Garrison, not caring to trust himself any longer with them, though he had before resolved to do nothing that might further irritate the Mind of *Cæsar*, he went from thence to *Lodi*, which City was by the Confederates freely put into his Hands. And nothing of the Capitulation made with him being observed, except suffering him to march off in Safety with all his Men, and with their Effects, he ratified by a public Instrument the League made by the Pontiff and *Venetians* in his Name.

BUT

BUT at this same Time the Pontiff, *A. D.*
 tho', on account of the Motions of the *Col-*
onnas, he had published a Monitory against
 the Cardinal, and against others of the
Colonna Family, yet seeing his Hopes of
 changing the Government of *Siena* much
 diminished, and thinking it hard to be
 plagued in the Territory of *Rome*, readily
 lent an Ear to Don *Ugo di Moncada*,
 who proposed to him, not with an Inten-
 tion to bring about an Accommodation,
 but to render him careless and negligent
 in making Provisions, certain Conditions
 for removing the Offence given him by
 the *Senese*, and for effecting a Reconcilia-
 tion between him and the *Colonnas*. To
 set on Foot a Treaty for these Purposes,
Vespasiano Colonna, a Person in whom the
 Pontiff confided, arriving at *Rome*, was the
 Cause that *Clement*, who had lost all Hopes of
 happy Success in his Enterprize upon *Siena*,
 and was thinking of withdrawing his Army
 from the Walls of that City, deferred the
 Execution of that wholesome Counsel, ex-
 pecting, with lesser Reproach, to call off
 his Troops as soon as this Agreement should
 be concluded, tho' the Disorders and Con-
 fusions

A. D. 1526. fusions in that Army still increasing it was resolved in *Florence* to recal it. It hap-

Pope's Army routed before *Siena*.

pened that, the Day before it had been appointed to decamp, Four Hundred Foot falling out of the City, and taking their Way towards the Artillery, which was guarded by *Jacopo Corso*, that Officer with his Regiment immediately turned their Backs, and in a great Hurry and Tumult beginning to fly, all the rest of the Army, which was under no Obedience or Discipline, of their own Impulse, without being attacked or pursued, betook themselves to Flight, Generals and Commissaries, as well as Soldiers both Horse and Foot striving who should soonest get out of Danger, and leaving to the Enemies their Provisions, Carriages, and Artillery, of which Ten Pieces between great and small belonging to the *Florentines*, and Seven to the *Perugians*, were conveyed with vast Exultation, and in a sort of Triumph into *Siena*, renewing, with great Shouts of that People, the Disgrace of the Artillery which had a long Time before been lost by the *Florentines* before the Walls of *Siena*, and were

were still kept in the public Square of that City. A. D.
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THIS Defeat was received the Day after the Castle of *Milan* came into the Hands of the *Cæsarean* Generals, and, on the same Day the Pontiff, for an Addition, to his private Afflictions, of the Calamities of the Christian Commonwealth, had Advices from *Hungary* that *Solyman*, the *Ottoman* Prince, had marched from *Constantinople* with a very potent Army to make an Invasion into that Kingdom, and after he had passed the River *Save* without Opposition, because he had a few Years before made himself Master of *Belgrade*, had taken the Castle of *Peter Waradin*, and from thence having passed the River *Drave*, neither Mountains nor Rivers having been sufficient to stop his Progress, it was apparent that all *Hungary* was in most manifest Danger.

BUT in *Italy* it was plain that, by the Reduction of the Castle of *Milan* under the Power of *Cæsar*, the State of the War being greatly altered, it was necessary, as
the

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the Duke of *Urbino* said, to form new Designs, and to take new Resolutions, in the same Manner as it must have been done if the Castle of *Milan* had not been at the Beginning in the Hands of *Francesco Sforza*. The Duke on this Occasion, the same Day that the Castle was surrendered, discoursing with the Pontiff's Lieutenant, and the *Venetian* Proveditor, on the State of Affairs, intimated that it was necessary to constitute a Captain General of all the League, with a Commission to command the Armies; that he did not demand this Charge more for himself than for others, but had however resolved, without this Authority, to concern himself no farther than with the Command of the *Venetian* Troops, requesting them to send Notice of it to *Rome* and to *Venice*. To dissuade him from insisting on a Demand made at so unseasonable a Time, and highly resented by the Pope, it was necessary for the *Venetian* Senate to send to the Camp *Luigi Pisano*, a Nobleman of great Authority, by whose Means this Ardor was rather somewhat moderated than extinguished. But as for the Method of the future Proceedings

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ceedings in the War, it was resolved not to remove from the Camp till the Arrival of the *Swiss*, who were listed in the Name and by the Means of the King of *France*, And the Duke was of Opinion that after their Coming it would be necessary to form Two Camps at Two different Quarters about *Milan*, not to assault it, or attempt to force it, but to make it fall into their Hands for Want of Provisions. This Method, he said, he was confident would succeed in the Space of Three Months, always opposing with great Warmth the Opinion of those who advised that, as soon as these Camps should be formed, an Attempt should be made to take that City by Storm, alledging that the League being very powerful in Money, and the Imperialists labouring under very great Difficulties in that Respect, they had all the Reasons in the World to promise themselves a prosperous Issue of the Enterprize, and no Reason to fear the contrary, but a Desire to accelerate it, for the Enemies wasting away with Time and Patience, Affairs could not fail of being brought to a happy End. And when he was at any time an-

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Duke of
Urbino's
Advice in
managing
the War.

Objection

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swered that his Reasoning would at all times hold very good, if he could rest secure that no Succours of fresh Infantry would come from *Germany*, by which the Imperialists might be enabled to take the Field, in which Case it could not be denied that Affairs must remain wholly subject to the Will of Fortune, his Reply was that in this Case he promised himself a no less certain Victory, because knowing *Bourbon's* Heat he concluded that, whenever he imagined himself equal in Strength to the Army of the Confederacy, he would be for pushing forward with so much Precipitation, as to give them an Opportunity of obtaining with Ease some considerable Advantage, which would hasten the Victory.

Duke's
Answer.

BUT because, on account of the Difficulties which are known to attend Levies of *Swiss*, it was doubted that their Coming would be retarded many Days, and the Loss of so much Time would be very detrimental, it was resolved, by the Advice principally of the Duke of *Urbino*, the Duke of *Milan* also insisting on the same, immediately

immediately to detach *Malatesta Baglione* A. D. 1526. with Three Hundred Men at Arms, Three Hundred Light Horse, and Five Thousand Foot, to attack *Cremona*; an Enterprize judged easy because the Garri-
An At-tempt ordered on Cremona.
 son consisted of little more than One Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred Light Horse, One Thousand of the choicest *German* Foot, and Three Hundred *Spaniards*, with very few Cannon, a less Quantity of Powder, and but a slender Stock of Provisions, the People of the City, tho' dispirited and dejected, yet Enemies, and the Castle against them, which, tho' it had been separated from the City by a Trench, yet, from the Report of *Annibale Piccinardo*, the Governor, there were Hopes of laying open the Flanks, which would facilitate the Taking of the Place. Pursuant to these Counsels *Malatesta* took his March for *Cremona*, and the Army being weakened by this Detachment, the Duke of *Urbino* was under no small Apprehensions that the Troops which were in *Milan* would some Night or other attack him in his Camp; so far was the Situation of Affairs from giving Hopes of
 I 2 Victory.

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Victory. Very frequent Skirmishes however passed by Order of *Giovanni de' Medici*, in which, tho' he greatly distinguished himself by his military Skill and Resolution, and the Valour of the *Italian* Infantry, who had been despised before they came under his Command, was displayed much to their Honour, yet the Advantage, with respect to the main Point of the War, was less considerable than the Damage, by the Loss of some of the best disciplined and most courageous Soldiers of the Army.

BUT in the mean time the ill Success of Affairs had greatly weakened the Spirit of the Pontiff, who was not provided with Money for a long War, as this was likely to prove, nor disposed to provide it by those Methods which the Importance of the present Situation required, and with which other Pontiffs were used to supply their Necessities. But he was much more disturbed, by observing that the Operations of the King of *France* did by no means correspond to the Obligations of the League, and to what every one expected of him. For, besides having been very dilatory in
the

King of
France
remiss in
prosecut-
ing the
War.

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the Payment of the Forty Thousand Ducats for the first Month, and remiss in making the necessary Provisions for the March of the *Swiss*, no Preparations were observed to be made for opening the Campaign on the other Side of the Mountains, on a Pretence that it was first necessary to give Intimation to *Cæsar*, as ordered by the Articles of the Confederacy; since, if he should proceed otherwise, the King of *England*, who was in a particular defensive League with *Cæsar*, would perhaps come in to his Assistance; but, if Intimation were given, that Obligation would be of no Force, in which Case he would enter upon a War, and hoped that the King of *England* would do the same, having promised that, as soon as Intimation was given, he would make a Protestation to *Cæsar*, and afterwards enter into the Confederacy made at *Coignac*. The King proceeded also but coldly in preparing a maritime Force, and, what was a more manifest Indication of his Mind, the Five Hundred Lances which he was bound to send into *Italy* greatly delayed to pass the Mountains. And tho' it was alledged that this Slowness proceeded

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either from the Negligence of the *French*, or from the Want of Money, and the Loss of Credit, for some Years last past, with the Merchants of *Lions*, or from the extreme Weakness and Disorder of the Men at Arms by the Loss received in the Battle of *Pavia*, and because they had received none or but very slender Pay since that Time, so that every Thing in a manner wanting to be put in Order it was not to be dispatched without Length of Time, yet whosoever considered with more Attention the Progress of Affairs began to doubt that the King preferred a long War before a quick Victory, as being apprehensive that, as there is but little Faith and Confidence between Princes, the *Italians*, as soon as the Dutchy of *Milan* should be recovered, paying but little Regard to his Interests, would either make a separate Peace with *Cæsar*, or at least would not heartily prosecute the War against him in such a Manner as to oblige him to restore his Children.

Pope suspicious of
the King
of England

THE Pontiff was held in the greater
Suspense by the Conduct of the King of
England,

England, who being solicited to enter into the Confederacy, of which he had been the Encourager, not corresponding to his former Promises and Persuasions, demanded, rather for interposing a Delay than for any other Reason, that the Confederates should oblige themselves to pay him the Money due to him from *Cæsar*, and that the State and Revenue promised him in the Kingdom of *Naples* should be exchanged for others in the Dutchy of *Milan*.

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THE Pope was also under Apprehensions that the *Colonnas*, who by their various Motions gave him continual Umbrage, would attack him with the Forces of the Kingdom of *Naples*: Collecting therefore in one View all the Difficulties, and all the Dangers, he was very importunate with his Confederates, that, besides soliciting each Member of the Alliance to furnish his Quota by Sea as well as Land, as expressed in the Articles of the League, they would with one Consent attack the Kingdom of *Naples* with a Thousand Light Horse, and Twelve Thousand Foot, and a

Afraid of
the *Colonnas*.

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Solicits
the King
of France
to join in
an Expe-
dition
against
Naples.

certain Number of Men at Arms; judging, from Effects during the Course of the War to this present, that Affairs could never be managed with prosperous Success, if *Cæsar* were not molested in some other Quarter besides the Dutchy of *Milan*. On these Motives he dispatched away to the King of France *Giovambattista Sanga*, a *Roman*, one of his Secretaries, to invite him to carry on the War with more Vigour, and to represent to him how greatly he found himself exhausted, and unable to bear the same Expences, if he were not assisted by him with a Sum of Money: That though in forming the Confederacy there had been no Debate on attacking the Kingdom of *Naples* during the War in *Lombardy*, he was disposed to undertake the Enterprize at present, in which the *Venetians*, though at first they made some Difficulty, because they were unwilling to burden themselves with such great Expences, yet at last, overcome by his Importunities, had consented to concur even without the King, but with a lesser Number of Troops in Proportion to his Quota: To request of
the

the King that, on this Account, besides the Five Hundred Lances whom he designed to put under the Command of the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, induced rather, as he said, by the good Fortune, than by the Qualifications of the Man, he would send Three Hundred Lances more into *Lombardy*, that Part of them might be spared for an Expedition against *Naples*: To solicit the Coming of the Fleet, to be employed either in straitening *Genoa*, or against the Kingdom of *Naples*; the Equipment of which Fleet, though carried on by the *French* with the same Slowness as their other Provisions, was yet continually pressed, and went forward. The King's Quota of the naval Armament was four Galleons, and sixteen light Gallies, that of the *Venetians* thirteen Gallies, and the Pope's eleven, over all which, at the Instances of the King, was appointed Captain General *Pietro Navarra*, though the Pope would rather have given the Command to *Andrea Doria*. Besides all this, *Sanga* had very secret Orders to induce the King, if possible, to undertake the Enterprize against *Milan* for himself,

to

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Treats in
vain of an
Accom-
modation
with the
Duke of
Ferrara.

to give him Occasion to rouse himself to the War with all his Forces. *Sanga* had also a Commission to proceed after this to the King of *England*, to request of him a Supply of Money, since that King, who at first was so eager for a War against *Cæsar* that, if the League had been negotiated in *England*, as he and the Cardinal of *York* desired, it was believed that he would have entered into the Confederacy, yet, the Time and the Necessities of the Castle of *Milan* not admitting of a long Negotiation, after he saw the League made by the others, contented himself with standing neuter, as a Spectator and a Judge. The Pope also stimulated by the *Venetians*, and no less by the King of *France*, who for that Purpose had sent the Bishop of *Bajeux* to *Ferrara*, treated of compounding the Differences with that Duke, though rather for Show than Effect, proposing to him several Conditions, and, amongst others, to give him *Ravenna* in Exchange for *Modena* and *Reggio*; which Expedient was rejected by the Duke, not only because, having taken Encouragement by the Retreat of the Army

Army from the Gates of *Milan*, he was become more difficult than usual to comply with the Terms proposed, but was more especially averse to that of *Ravenna*, both on account of the great Difference of the Revenues, and because it seemed to him to give Occasion for embroiling himself at some Time or other with the *Venetians*.

SUCH were the Negotiations, the Provisions, and the Operations of the Confederates, delayed, interrupted, and varied, according to the Forces, the Views, and the Counsels of the Princes. But *Cæsar*, whose Resolutions depended on himself, was by no means careless or irresolute in exerting the utmost of his Strength. Wherefore the King of *France* having, at the Request of the Ambassadors of the Confederates, refused Leave to the Viceroy, who demanded it even with Tears, to pass into *Italy*, that Minister, after refusing Presents to the Value of Twenty Thousand Ducats, was returned into *Spain*, carrying with him a Schedule, written with the King's own Hand, signifying that he was ready to observe the Convention of *Madrid*,

A. D. *Madrid*, on changing the Restitution of
 1526. *Burgundy* into the Payment of Two Mil-
 lions of Ducats. *Cæsar*, at the Return of
Cæsar's the Viceroy, losing all Hopes that the
 Preparati- King of *France* would observe the Capi-
 ons. tulation, resolved to send him into *Italy*
 with a Fleet carrying on board the *German*
Foot, who, to the Number of little less
 than Three Thousand, had their Quarters
 at *Perpignan*, and as many *Spanish* Foot
 as would make the whole amount to Six
 Thousand effective Men. He took care
 also to send to *Milan* a new Supply of One
 Hundred Thousand Ducats, and hastened
 as much as possible the Equipment of the
 Squadron, which could not be ready to
 put to Sea so soon as wished, because, be-
 sides the Time required for getting the
 Ships together, and preparing the *Spanish*
 Troops, it was necessary to pay the *Ger-*
mans One Hundred Thousand Ducats, for
 which they were in Arrears. Besides this,
 he was every Day giving out Commissions
 for making new Levies of Foot in *Germany*
 to be sent to *Milan*; but providing no
 Money to pay them, and his Brother be-
 ing unable to make any Provision of that
 Kind

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
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Kind on account of his Poverty, that Expedient proceeded very slowly; and yet the Slowness and unprosperous Success of the Confederates gave Room enough for any Delay.

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FOR *Malatesta*, arriving before *Cremona*, erected, in the Night of the Seventh of *August*, a Battery against the Gate of *Mussa*, imagining that Place to be weak, because it was but badly flanked, and had no Rampart; and as he designed to give an Assault at the same Time from the Side of the Castle, he thought it for his Purpose to plant his Cannon at a good Distance, that the Besieged might be so much the more necessitated to divide their Forces. But after the Battery had played for some Time the Place was found to be strong, and to be lined with a good Rampart, and the Breach made in the Wall to be too high from the Ground. *Malatesta* therefore thought fit not to give the Assault, but changing his Resolution set about erecting a new Battery, near the Castle, in a Place called *Santa Monaca*, where *Federigo da Bozzolo* had formerly planted his Cannon; and

A. D. 1526. and at the same time he drew Two Trenches

 in the Square of the Castle, one running from the right Hand towards the *Port*, where the Garrison had made Two Entrenchments, and he was in Hopes, by means of this Trench, to make himself Master of a Redoubt, to which he was already approached within Six Braces, and which was within the first Entrenchment of the Besieged near the Wall. On this Redoubt, which was to serve him for a Platform, he designed to plant Cannon to play on the Curtain, which the *French* had formerly battered; for Prevention of which the Imperialists erected another Redoubt behind their Second Entrenchment. The other Trench of *Malatesta* extended from the left Hand towards the Wall, and was so near that of the Besieged as to be within a Stone's Cast; and as soon as those Trenches should be compleat and fit for his Purpose, the General designed to erect a Battery; nor were the Workmen much annoyed by the Enemy's Cannon, for in *Cremona* were no more than Four Falconets, which very seldom fired because there was but a small Stock of Powder; but the Garrison were continually

continually making Sallies, which much incommoded the Labourers in the Trenches, and frequently put them in great Disorder, tho' they had a strong Guard. *Malatesta*, as one at a Loss, and uncertain how to proceed, was continually teasing and perplexing, not much to his Honour, with various Sentiments contained in his Letters, the Generals of the Army, who finding the Siege become every Day more difficult ordered to his Camp Twelve Hundred German Foot lately listed at the common Charge of the Pontiff and *Venetians*. And a few Days after, to prevent any ill Effects of the Discord and Emulation between *Malatesta* and *Giulio Manfrone*, there marched thither, with a Detachment of Three Thousand Foot from the Army, the Proveditor *Pesaro*, who from an intimate Friend was almost grown out of Favour with the Duke of *Urbino*. But *Malatesta*, in the Night before the Thirteenth Day of *August*, ordered Four Pieces of Cannon to be planted between the Gate of *Santo Luca* and the Castle, in order to possess himself of a Bastion, which being battered almost a whole Day, he carried on
the

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the Trench home to it, in Hopes to become Master of it that same Night. But about Four Hours within Night a few *German* Foot sallied out of the Town, and falling upon the Guard of the Trench, which within and without amounted to above One Thousand Men, put them in Disorder, and forced them to abandon it; but the next Day the *Germans* were obliged to leave it, so that the Trench which cost so much Labour remained abandoned by both Parties. But Fortune had a mind to shew herself favourable to the Besiegers, if they had been so wise as to know or take the Opportunity; for the Night before the Fifteenth there tumbled down, of itself, about Fifty Braces of the Wall between the Gate of *San Luca* and the Castle, together with a Piece of Cannon; and had the Besiegers been quick, and given the Assault by Break of Day, the Garrison, who were under a Consternation at the sudden Accident, had no Hopes of making Resistance, because the Place where they must have stood in making a Defence was commanded by the Cannon of the Castle. But while *Malatesta* delayed, first in taking a Resolution,

Resolution, and afterwards in putting his Men in Order to storm the Breach, the Besieged were hard at Work, and the first Thing they did was to throw up a Bank or Rampart to cover themselves from the Artillery of the Castle, and then they cast up another in Front of the Enemy; so that when the Assault was given; which was not done till Four Hours before Night, tho' the greater Part of the Army was employed on that Side, yet, as they were too much exposed, they approached with very considerable Loss; and in the Attack, besides other Defences, they were miserably annoyed by Showers of Stones incessantly poured upon them from the Place, by which *Giulio Manfrone*, Captain *Macone*, and many other Soldiers of good Note, were killed on the Spot. At the same time another Assault was given by the Way of the Castle, in which the Besiegers were repulsed, but with inconsiderable Loss: And a Third Attack was also designed on the Breach made by the Battery at *Santa Monaca*, with Eighty Men at Arms, One Hundred Light Horse, and One Thousand Foot; but the Ditch being

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found full of Water, and the Place well fortified, they retired without attempting any thing. After this arrived the Proveditor *Pesaro*, with Three Thousand *Italian* Foot, above One Thousand *Swiss*, and some more Artillery, in order to raise Two brisk Batteries. As there were now above Eight Thousand Foot in the Camp, it was resolved to form Two Attacks, and to carry on each Attack with Three Thousand Foot, besides another with Two Thousand on the Side of the Castle. The Besiegers having got together a vast Number of Pioneers worked with great Diligence on the Trenches, one of which, being opened on the Twenty-third of *August*, they advanced, after a long Dispute, so far as to command a Flank of the Enemy. The Night before the Twenty-sixth Two Batteries were finished, one under the Direction of *Malatesta* beyond the Place where *Federigo* had raised a Battery, the other against the Gate of *Mussa*, which was directed by *Camillo Orsino*. But neither Battery had any manner of Success, for the Ground which *Malatesta* had chosen, being marshy, could not support the Weight

Weight of the Artillery, but sunk and gave way at every Firing, so that the Balls struck the Wall too high; and though the Battery of *Camillo* struck low, yet there being a Ditch on that Side full of Water, and the Approaches well flanked with Harquebusiers, it was impracticable to advance that Way. Wherefore, tho' an Assault was given in spite of these Difficulties, the Assailants were beaten off with great Loss; and though on the Side of *Malatesta* the Troops advanced to the Wall, after passing a Ditch in which the Water was higher than had been imagined, they were easily repulsed. On the Side of the Castle also Part of the Cavalier, or Platform, was beaten down, and the Soldiers mounted the Breach, but the Descent on the Inside proving too high the Besiegers, who had carried on the Attack from first to last with little Order, were repulsed, and had many of their Number killed and wounded, with very little Loss to the Besieged.

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THESE Disorders, with the Despair of taking *Cremona* by any other Method, for

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Duke of
Urbino
sets out
for *Cre-*
mona.

there was no Command nor Obedience in that Camp, obliged the Duke of *Urbino* to repair thither in Person. Taking therefore with him almost all the *Venetian* Troops in the Army that was about *Milan*, and leaving there Part of the Men at Arms, with all the Ecclesiastic Forces, and the *Swiss*, which were arrived to the Number of Thirteen Thousand, despising, now there remained a smaller Number of Troops, and those deprived of a Head of such Authority, that Danger, of which before, when attended with greater Forces, he pretended to stand in continual Dread, and declaring that it was not the Custom of Men of War, and of *Spaniards* less than others, to attack other Men of War in the Strength of their Entrenchments, he set out for the Camp before *Cremona*, with a Design to make himself Master of it, not by Force of Storm and Battery alone, because the Fortifications of the Enemy were too formidable, but, by making Approaches to their Trenches and Redoubts with the Help of a vast Multitude of Workmen, to carry the Place by the Force of Spades and Pickaxes, rather than of Swords and
Guns.

Guns. The Management of the Duke A. D. 1526. in this Enterprife againſt the State of *Milan* was blamed by the Imperial Generals on many Accounts, but eſpecially for the Retreat from *Milan*, and no leſs for having at firſt attempted, in ſo weak a Manner, and with ſo few Forces, to beſiege *Cremona*, from a vain Confidence that it was eaſy to take it, and, after he had diſcovered the Difficulties of the Enterprife, * for continuing to employ in it ſuch a Part of the Army, as to loſe greater Opportunities, which offered during the Time that was waſted before that City. For the entire Number of the *Swiſs*, ſo greatly deſired, being arrived, it was eaſy, by blocking up *Milan*, as it had been always deſigned, with two Armies, to intercept the vaſt Quantities of Proviſions that were continually conveyed into it by the Way of *Pavia*, which was not effected by the Army alone which lay at *Ambra*, becauſe it required the Command of a great Circuit of Ground. But it was of much more Importance to loſe the Opportunity, which perhaps preſented itſelf, of taking *Milan* by Force: For the Troops within the

His Con-
duct cen-
ſured.

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City were become so sickly, that it being difficult to find sound Men enough to go upon Duty and the ordinary Guards, it was the Opinion of many, and of the Imperialists themselves, that had they, in such a Circumstance, been vigorously pushed, the Place would have been in great Danger of being lost.

Motions
of the
Confederate
Fleets.

BUT a greater and a certain Opportunity was presented of taking *Genoa*: For the *Venetian* Squadron having joined that of the Pontiff at *Civita Vecchia*, the combined Fleet sailed to the Port of *Livorno*, where they waited the Arrival of the *French* Squadron, which consisting of sixteen Gallies, four Galleons, and four other Ships, was advanced on the Coast of the *Western Riviera*, and had, by voluntary Surrender, taken Possession of the City of *Savona*, and of all that *Riviera*, after which they took several Vessels laden with Corn for *Genoa*, and proceeded to *Livorno* to join the others. It had been also resolved to equip, at the common Cost of the Allies, in the Port of *Marseilles*, twelve large Ships, either for attacking, according

according to the Advice of *Pietro Narra*, in Conjunction with the *French* Gallies, the Fleet that was fitting out in the Port of *Carthagera*, or at least to engage it after it had put to Sea. The three combined Fleets then setting Sail the 29th of *August*, the Ecclesiastic and *Venetian* Squadrons put in at *Porto Fino*, and the *French* returned to *Savona*, from which Stations commanding all the Seas without Opposition, *Genoa*, where was a Scarcity of Provisions, was reduced to such Straits, that, as nothing could enter it by Sea, it is not doubted but that, if a Body of Troops had been ordered to cut off all Communication with the City by Land, which was its only Support, it must of Necessity have capitulated. Nor did the Admirals of the Fleets, sometimes by Letters, sometimes by proper Messengers, insist on any further Provision, demanding only that at least Four Thousand Foot should be sent to block up the Place by Land ; but neither could any Troops be spared from the Camp before *Cremona*, nor did the Duke of *Urbino* or the other Commanders think it safe to diminish th

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1526.

Genoa
blocked
up by Sea:

A. D. 1526. Army that lay near *Milan*; for which Reasons they were amused with Hopes of obtaining a sufficient Number of Land Forces after the Reduction of *Cremona*.

THE Enterprize against the City of *Cremona*, from the Valour and stout Resistance of the Defendants, and the Greatness of the Works carried on by the Pioneers, proceeded every Day with more Tedioufness than had been imagined. For the Duke, who had taken care to have in his Camp Two Thousand Pioneers, with good Store of Artillery and Ammunition, and a vast Plenty of Working-tools of all Sorts, continually pressed the Working in the Trenches of the Castle for advancing to the Redoubt towards the *Pa*, in order to possess himself of it, and make it serve him as a Cavalier for erecting a Battery on it, though the Enemy, having for several Days before mistrusted his Design, had retired from it to a strong Rampart erected behind it. He worked also at the two Heads of a Trench that crossed the Square of the Castle, in order to ruin the Cavaliers raised by the Enemy, and
between

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between the two Trenches of the Field *A. D.*
1526.
the Workmen drew another Trench, six Braces wide, covering themselves before and at the Side with Ramparts of Earth, for raising a Cavalier as soon as they had penetrated to the Ditch of the Enemy's Intrenchment. They worked also at carrying on a Ditch without the Castle towards the Wall of the Town, for making Way to a Bastion towards the ruined Wall; and they worked on another Trench from the Gate of *Santo Luca* to the same Wall. All this while the Cannon of the Castle kept playing on the Enemy's Ramparts, which, from the Badness of the Earth, that was loose and crumbled, were easily penetrated through. In the mean time the Besieged were not idle; for, doubting that they could not long keep Possession of their Intrenchments and Cavaliers, they worked on a Ditch towards the Buildings of the City, and yet made frequent Sal- lies, attacking the Workmen with great Vigour, and in the Night before the Seventh attacked the Trenches that were making on the Side of the Castle in three different Places, and finding the Guard almost

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almost all asleep, killed above an Hundred of them, besides several Officers, and penetrated to the Ravelin of the Castle. They became, however, more and more straitened; for the Duke of *Urbino* having carried the Trenches to their Ramparts which separated the Castle from the City, caused them to be attacked by some Harquebusiers, and chosen Men covered with Targets, who did good Execution, in Conjunction with the Artillery from the Turrets of the Castle. The Imperialists therefore set Fire to the Rampart of the Cavalier, that it might not serve for a Parapet to the Enemy; and the Besiegers having on the 19th by their Trenches made a Descent into the Ditch in two Places, they retired to another Intrenchment, at which the Duke of *Urbino* was not much concerned, because they had not Time to well fortify themselves, and having retired to a larger Post a greater Guard was required to defend it. On the Side of the Field, however, though the Works had been perfected, the Siege was carried on somewhat slowly, because it had been found necessary to re-establish and recruit

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recruit the *Venetian* Foot, who had been a long Time without Money, and therefore much diminished in Number, one Disorder always coming upon the Back of another in the Affairs of the Confederates. While these Things passed, the Imperialists made frequent Sallies in the Night, in order to make an Attempt on the Trenches, but in vain, for the Experience of the Blow they had received had put the Besiegers on their Guard. But the Duke, who had sufficiently recruited and augmented his Foot, on the 22d began very diligently to batter a Tower on the Side of *Federigo's* Battery, where, after a very few Discharges, perceiving that the Enemies were reduced to such Straits that they could not refuse capitulating, he sent into the Place a Trumpet to demand the City, who returned to the Camp with a *German* and a *Spanish* Officer, and with *Guido Vaina* of *Forli*: And the next Day a Capitulation was signed, by which the Garrison, if not relieved before the End of the Month, was to evacuate *Cremona*, the *Germans* obtaining Leave to return into *Germany*, and the

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Cremona
surrendered to
the Allies.

A. D. 1526. the *Spaniards* to retire into the Kingdom of *Naples*, on a Promise not to engage in defending the State of *Milan* for four Months ensuing. They were to leave behind them all their Artillery and Ammunition, and to march out with Colours furled, and without Sound of Drum or Trumpet, except just when they began to move.

King of
France's
Answer to
the De-
mands of
the Pontiff.

IN the mean time the King of *France*, at whose Court a few Days after arrived, in quality of Legate, Cardinal *Salviati*, who had departed out of *Spain* by *Cæsar's* Permission, answered to the Requests that were made him in the Name of the Pontiff by way of Excuse, alledging that if his Works should not be equal to his Will the Reason must be ascribed to his being greatly exhausted of Money; but, however, if he would grant him a Power to exact a Tenth of the Ecclesiastical Revenues in his whole Kingdom, he would assist him with Part of the Money collected by that Means as far as Two Thousand Ducats each Month, and would concur in the War of *Naples*. He refused, tho'

tho' at first he shewed some Inclination to it, to endeavour at the Acquisition of *Milan* for himself, *Lautrech* especially, and his Mother, dissuading him from it. He gave some Hopes of beginning a War on the other Side of the Mountains, but said it was necessary there should be a previous Intimation, which being made he offered to take the Field on the Side of *Flanders*, and of *Perpignan*. It was however perceived that he was not disposed to make such a Step, his Mind, in that Respect, agreeing with the Inclination of the King of *England*, with whom the Applications made on the Part of the Pontiff had produced but very little Effect; for the Cardinal of *York*, willing to amuse every Body, and to be intreated by all, prevented Matters from being brought to any Conclusion, it being usual for the King and the Cardinal to answer to such Sollicitations; "We have no Concern with the Affairs of *Italy*,"

AT this Juncture the Confederates, being apprehensive that the *Grifons*, who during the Siege of the Castle of *Milan* had

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Grifons
hired by
the Con-
federates.

had recovered and dismantled *Chiavenna*, would list under the Duke of *Bourbon*, or at least permit the *Germans*, who were expected to reinforce him, to pass through their Country, the Pontiff and the *Venetians* engaged to take Two Thousand *Grifon* Foot into their Service, and to pay the Governor of *Mus* (who, out of Fear of the Duke of *Milan*, at his Coming to the Army, had fled from the Camp, and afterwards, pretending that there was Money owing to him for the Payments of the *Swiss*, had seized and imprisoned Two *Venetian* Ambassadors that were going to *France*) Five Thousand Five Hundred Ducats which they had promised him, to restore to them the like Sum, which the said Governor had exacted of them, and to cause them to be freed from the new Duties which he had imposed on those who navigated the Lake of *Como*. The *Grifons*, on the other Side, obliged themselves to hinder the Passage of the *Germans*, and took effectual Care that *Tegane*, their General, hired by the Duke of *Bourbon*, with Two Thousand Foot, should not march.

BUT

BUT in the mean time the other Affairs of *Lombardy* proceeded but coldly ; for the Army about *Milan*, in which the Number, but not the Pay, of the *Swiss* was diminished, stood idle, employing themselves in nothing but in Skirmishes according to Custom. More diligent and industrious, as well as more troublesome and mischievous, were the *Spaniards* who lay in Garrison at *Carpi*; for having secret Intelligence by Spies; and the Advantage of Shelter in the Territory of the Duke of *Ferrara*, they gave vast Obstruction to the Passage of the Couriers and other Persons to the Army; and, scowering all the circumjacent Countries as far as the *Bolognese* and *Mantouan*, committed innumerable Ravages, tho' upon none but the Ecclesiastic Subjects.

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Spaniards
in *Carpi*
trouble-
some.

AT last the Marquis of *Saluzzo* had passed the Mountains, and was arrived in *Piedmont* with Five Hundred French Lances, on whose Coming *Fabritio Maramaus* who had laid Siege to *Valenza*, in which was a Garrison commanded by *Giovanni da Birago*, and was battering it with his Artillery,

Marquis
of *Saluzzo*
arrives in
Piedmont.

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Artillery, retired to *Basignano*. But the Marquis refusing to pass any further, unless the Confederates, by an equal Share, paid him for Four Thousand Foot, which he had, with that Intention, brought with him out of *France*, and the King with great Earnestness insisting on the same for the Security of his Men at Arms, and for the greater Reputation of the Marquis, it was necessary to consent to it. At the same time *Sinibaldo dal Fiesco* seized on the Town of *Pontriemoli*, which was in the Possession of *Sforzino*, but it was soon recovered with the same Ease by means of the Castle. In *Milan* was a great Scarcity of Money, for not the least Supply came from *Cæsar*, and such was the Poverty and intolerable Expences of the *Milanese*, that they found it a difficult Matter to make up the Thirty Thousand Ducats which the People had promised to the Duke of *Bourbon*, under whom listed *Galeazzo da Birago*, and *Lodovico da Belgiojoso*, who had hitherto, at all Adventures, followed the *French* Party, because their Service had not been accepted by the Confederates on account of the vast Expence which

Money
scarce in
Milan.

which they sustained; at this time *Giovanni da Birago* took Possession of *Novi*.

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AMIDST these Movements the State of the Marquis of *Mantoua* was in a manner common to all, the Marquis pleading in Excuse that he was in the Pay of the Pontiff, and a Feudatory of *Cæsar*; nay farther, when his Term was nearly expired, he contracted with the Pontiff and the *Florentines* for Four Years longer, with an express Condition of not being bound to serve with his Person or State against *Cæsar*. In the Beginning of the War however he was desirous of going in Person into the Army, which the Pontiff not approving, because he could not rely on his Conduct, had answered him, that, since he was a Feudatory of *Cæsar* he would not expose him to so much Danger. Such was at that time the State of Affairs in *Lombardy*. In *Tuscany* the *Florentines*, tho' without Armies or Arms in their Territory, were yet sensible of the Troubles of War by their Expences. For the Pontiff, unable to supply himself with Money by the ordinary Methods, and obstinately refusing to make

Ambiguous Conduct of the Marquis of *Mantoua*.

A. D. use of any extraordinary Ways and Means
1526.

Affairs of
Tuscany.

to procure it, most unmercifully laid upon them almost the whole Burden of the Expences in *Lombardy*. The *Senese* were not without Molestation in their maritime Ports; for *Andrea Doria*, who had, at the Beginning, possessed himself of *Talamone* and *Portercole*, occasioned them to stand continually upon their Guard, tho' *Talamone* was not long after, by the Commander of the Garrison, restored to the *Senese*. The Exiles also, at the Instigation of the Pontiff, raised some Disturbances in the maritime Country, in which *Giam-paolo*, Son of *Renzo da Ceri*, in the Pope's Service, some Horse having surpris'd the Gate of the Town of *Orbatello*, came up himself afterwards with his Horse and Foot, and took Possession of the Place.

BUT at *Rome* happened Events of very great Moment, brought about not by Force of Arms, but by Fraud, highly disgraceful to the Pontiff, and destructive of the hopeful Situation of Affairs in *Lombardy*, where it was expected that, by means of the Acquisition of *Cremona*, the Enterprize

on

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Genoa would be brought to an Issue, and that it would be practicable, according to the First Design, to form Two different Camps about *Milan*. For, after the Defeat received at *Siena*, the Pontiff having no Hopes of exerting his Strength for distressing the *Colonnas* to any great Effect, and having turned his Thoughts on attacking with the greater Force, as was mentioned, the Kingdom of *Naples*, and on the other Side, the *Colonnas*, and the Agents of *Cæsar* distrusting their own Abilities for performing any Thing of Moment against the Pontiff, and, desirous to annoy him, and make him lose Time till the Arrival of the Viceroy with a Fleet from *Spain*, having dispatched to *Rome* *Vespasiano Colonna*, on whose Faith the Pope depended, both Parties had, on *August* 22, entered into a Convention, by which the *Colonnas* were to restore *Anagnia*, and the other Places they had taken; to withdraw their Troops into the Kingdom of *Naples*, and keep no Soldiers for the future in the Towns which they possessed within the Ecclesiastic Dominions; that they might freely serve *Cæsar* against any Power in defence of the King-

A. D.
1526.

Articles
between
the Pope
and the
Colonnas.

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1526.

dom of *Naples*: On the other Part the Pontiff was to pardon all Offences; to abolish the Monitory issued against Cardinal *Colonna*; and not to molest the States of the *Colonnas*, nor suffer them to be molested by the *Orsini*. While the Pontiff thought himself secure under this Capitulation, and relied especially on the Faith of *Vespasiano*, he set his Heart at Rest, and unwarily disbanded his Horse, and almost all the Foot which he had levied, and ordered those few which remained into Quarters in the circumjacent Towns and Villages; and began to cool in his Project of invading the Kingdom of *Naples*. The frequent Complaints and Protestations which the *Cæsarean* Ministers residing in *Rome* received from *Milan* and *Genoa*, declaring that if the Progress of the Confederates was not interrupted by some powerful Diversion, those Cities could no longer support themselves, determined them, since they had no Means to continue an open and vigorous War, and such as might procure a Remedy so quick as the Case required, to set their Wits and Inventions upon the Rack

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Rack for circumventing and oppressing the Pontiff by Subtilty and Snares.

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1526.



WHILE these Traps were laying for the Pontiff, that, besides the Afflictions which he suffered in his private Concerns, he might have Cause to afflict himself and be humbled on a public Account, News came that *Solyman* the *Ottoman*, Prince of the *Turks*, had in a pitched Battle defeated *Lewis* King of *Hungary*, obtaining the Victory no less by the Rashness of the Enemy than by his own Forces. For the *Hungarians*, tho' very few in Number if compared with the great Multitude of the Enemies, confiding more in the many Victories which they had heretofore gained over the *Turks* than in the present Condition of Affairs, perswaded the King, young in Years, but younger still in Counsel, not to obscure the Renown, and antient military Glory of his People by waiting for the Succours which were coming from *Transylvania*, but to put himself on his March to meet the Enemy, and not to decline engaging in the open Field, in which the *Turks*, by the innumerable Multitude of

Lewis
King of
Hungary
defeated
and slain
by *Soly-*
man.

A. D. 1526. their Horse, are in a manner invincible. The Event therefore was answerable to the Temerity and Imprudence of the Undertaking; the Army, which was composed of all the Nobility and valiant Men of *Hungary*, was defeated with a very great Slaughter, and the King himself, with many of the principal Prelates and Barons of the Kingdom perished.

FROM this Victory the Pontiff assuring himself that the *Turk* would endeavour to secure to himself the whole Kingdom of *Hungary*, to the very great Detriment of all Christendom, of which that Kingdom had been, for a long Course of Years, the Buckler and Bulwark, was wonderfully disturbed, as new Vexations make deeper Impression on Minds already labouring under Perturbations and Afflictions, than on such as are void of other Passions. Revolving therefore in his Mind new Projects, and giving evident Tokens of his immense Grief in his Gestures, Speeches, and the Air of his Countenance, he called a Consistory, and in most pathetic Terms lamented to the Cardinals the vast Loss and Reproach

Pope's
Speech in
a Consistory.

Reproach that had fallen on the Christian Commonwealth, against which he himself had not been wanting to provide, both by continually exhorting and beseeching the Christian Princes to make Peace among themselves, and, amidst so many other weighty Concerns of his own, by assisting that Kingdom with no small Sum of Money; that he had declared, and was very sensible from the Beginning, that the present War happened very incommodiouſly and unseasonably for the Defence of that Kingdom, and of the rest of Christendom; but that since he saw all honourable and reasonable Conditions of Quietness and Security for the Apostolic See, and for *Italy* despised and rejected, he had been induced by Necessity to take up Arms, contrary to what had once been his Intention; for both the Neutrality which he had observed before this Necessity, and the Conditions of the League which he had made, all done with an Eye to the common Welfare, were sufficient to demonstrate that he was not moved by any Regard to his own private Interests, or to those of his Family; but

A. D.

1526.

A. D. 1526. since it had pleased God, perhaps for some good End, that the Head of Christendom should be wounded, and at a Time when all the other Members of this Body were distracted with other Thoughts than such as tended to the common Benefit, he did believe it was his Will that some other Method should be sought for healing so grievous a Disorder ; and therefore, since this Care belonged more to his pastoral Office than to any other, he was disposed, postponing all Consideration of Inconveniency, Danger, and of his own Dignity, as soon as a Suspension of Arms could on any Conditions be procured in *Italy*, to embark on board his Gallies, and go in Person to meet with the Christian Princes, in order to obtain of them by Persuasions, by Prayers, by Tears, an universal Peace among Christians ; that he advised the Cardinals to prepare themselves for this Expedition, and to assist the common Father in so compassionate an Office ; and prayed that God would be favourable to so holy a Work, or, if, on account of the common Sins, it could not be brought to Perfection, he would at least be pleased to grant

grant him the Favour to take him off by Death, in the Midst of his Negotiations, before he saw himself excluded from all Hopes of obtaining his End, since no greater Misfortune or Misery could befall him, than to lose all Hopes, and the Power of reaching forth a salutary Hand to assist in extinguishing so pernicious and pestiferous a Combustion.

THE Proposal of the Pontiff was heard with great Attention, and with no less Compassion, and highly commended. But it would have been much more commended, if his Words had carried with them as much Credit as they had Weight and Dignity in themselves: For the major Part of the Cardinals interpreted them as flowing rather from a Sense of the Difficulties and Distress to which he was now reduced by the War, than from Apprehensions and Commiseration of the Danger of *Hungary*, since he had taken Arms against *Cæsar* at a Time when, from the open Preparations of the *Turks*, the Danger of that Kingdom was imminent and manifest. But of this, however, there

A. D. there can be no certain Proof. For the

1526.

Colonnas, entering on the Execution of their premeditated Treachery, had ordered *Cesare Filletino*, their Partisan, with Two Thousand Foot to *Anagnia*, where the Pontiff had Two Hundred Foot in Pay, with a Show, in order to conceal their Project, as if they intended to possess themselves of that Town; but having formed another Design, they seized on all the Passes, and using the utmost Diligence, that no Advice of their Progress might be carried to *Rome*, assembled the Troops sent towards *Anagnia*, and with those and their other Forces, making in the whole about Eight Hundred Horse, and Three Thousand Foot, but almost all of them of the Militia, marching with great Speed, so as to prevent all Notice of their Coming, arrived at *Rome* the Night before the 20th of *September*, and suddenly seizing on Three Gates of the City, entered through the Gate of *San Giovanni Laterano*, attended in Person not only by *Ascanio*, and *Don Ugo di Moncada*, the Duke of *Sessa* being dead many Days before at *Marino*, but also by *Vespasiano*, who

Pope
surprised
by the
Colonnas.

who had been the Mediator of the Agree-
ment, and had solemnly engaged for
himself and all the rest of his Party, and
likewise by Cardinal *Pompeo Colonna*, so far
transported with Rage and Ambition, that
he had conspired to lay violent Hands on
the Pontiff, designing also, as it was the
common and constant Opinion, by Arms
and Violence, to force the Cardinals to
elect him, and with bloody Hands, and
by wicked and sacrilegious Deeds to seize
on the vacant Seat of the Pontiff. *Clement*,
when it was Day, advised of their Coming,
and that they were assembled about *San*
Cosimo and *Damiano*, endeavoured in vain,
full of Fear and Confusion, to appease the
Tumult; for he had no Forces of his own
to defend himself, and the People of
Rome, partly glad of his Misfortune, partly
judging themselves not concerned in the
public Loss, made no Sign of bestirring
themselves in his Favour. Hence the
Enemies, increasing in Boldness, advanced
forwards, and posted themselves with all
their Forces at *Sant' Apostolo*, from whence
they detached about Five Hundred Foot,
with some Horse, over the Bridge of
San

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1526.

San Sisto, to the other Side of the *Tiber*, who, after some Resistance, dislodging, from the Portico of *San Spirito*, *Stefano Colonna*, an Officer in the Pope's Pay, who had posted himself there with Two Hundred Foot, took their Way, through the Old Suburb, towards *St. Peter's*, and the Pontifical Palace. The Pope had not quitted the Palace, but imploring in vain the Assistance of God and of Man, and inclining to die in his Seat, was preparing, after the Example of *Boniface VIII.* under the Insult of *Sciarra Colonna*, to place himself, vested with the Pontifical Habit and Ornaments, in the Pontifical Chair. But the Cardinals that were about him conjuring him, if not for his own Sake, yet at least for the Safety of that Holy See, and that the Honour of God might not be so wickedly violated in the Person of his Vicar, to remove, he was, with great Difficulty, diverted from his Purpose, and retired, together with some of those Cardinals in whom he could put most Confidence, into the Castle, towards Noon, and at a Time when not only the Foot and Horse that came first, but also all the rest of the

the

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the Troops were plundering the Palace, and the Furniture and sacred Ornaments of the Church of *St. Peter's*, with no more Regard to the Majesty of Religion, and the Horror of Sacrilege, than the *Turks* had in the Churches of the Kingdom of *Hungary*. They afterwards entered the New Suburb, of which they plundered about a Third Part, not daring to proceed any further, for fear of the Artillery of the Castle.

AFTER this the Tumult, which lasted a little more than Three Hours, being appeased, without any Damage or Molestation to the City of *Rome*, Don *Ugo*, under the Pontiff's Faith, after receiving as Hostages for his Security the Cardinals *Cibo* and *Ridolfi*, the Pontiff's Grand Nephews, went into the Castle to confer with him, where, in Terms suitable to a Conqueror, he proposed Conditions of a Truce. The Answer was deferred till the next Day, when was concluded an Agreement, or Truce, between the Pontiff, in his own Name and that of the Confederates, and *Cæsar*, for Four Months,

Pope makes a Truce with Cæsar.
with

A. D.

1526.

Articles.

with two Months more for giving Notice of its Expiration *, and Liberty for the Confederates to come into it within Two Months. In this Truce were to be included not only the Ecclesiastic State and the Kingdom of *Naples*, but also the Dutchy of *Milan*, the *Florentines*, the *Genoese*, the *Senese*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, with all the Subjects of the Church mediate and immediate. The Pontiff was forthwith to withdraw his Troops which were about *Milan* to this Side of the *Po*, and to recall *Andrea Doria* with his Gallies from the Fleet ; to pardon the *Colonnas*, and every one who had been concerned in this Insult ; to give, as Hostages for his Observance of this Truce, *Filippo Strozzi*, and one of the Sons of *Jacopo Salviati*, whom he engaged to send to *Naples*, within Two Months, under the Penalty of Thirty Thousand Ducats : And, on the other side, the Imperialists and the *Colonnas* were to remove their Troops from *Rome*, and from the whole State of the Church, and cause them to retire

* *Con Disdetta di due altri Mesi.*

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retire towards the Kingdom of *Naples*. Both Parties heartily concurred in this Truce; the Pontiff, because the Castle had no Store of Provisions for his Subsistence, and Don *Ugo*, tho' against the Remonstrances of the *Colonnas*, because he thought he had done enough for the Benefit of *Cæsar*, and because almost all the Troops with which he had entered *Rome*, being loaded with Plunder, were dispersed into different Parts.

By this Truce, all the Schemes of the Allies in *Lombardy* were broken, and the Acquisition of *Cremona* rendered quite fruitless; for tho', about the same time, the Marquis of *Saluzzo* with the *French* Lances arrived in the Army, yet, for want of the Pontiff's Troops, which, pursuant to the Truce, on the Seventh of *October* retired for the greatest Part to *Piacenza*, the Design of sending Troops to *Genoa*, as well as the Project for straitening *Milan* with Two Armies, were rendered abortive. Occasion also of some Disturbance was given by the Duke of *Urbino*, who, as soon as the Agreement

was

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1526.

Duke of
Urbino
censured:

was made with the Garrison of *Cremona*, without waiting the Delivery of the Place, took his Way to the *Mantouan*, to visit his Wife, tho' he had before received Advice of the Truce made at *Rome*; and having consented to prolong the Time for the Troops in *Cremona* to evacuate that Place, the Departure of the Forces employed about that City was so long deferred, that it was the Middle of *October* before he returned with them to the Army, to the vast Prejudice of all the Operations. For Consultations were held on sending Troops to *Genoa*, which was solicited with more Earnestness than ever by *Pietro Navarra*, and the Proveditor of the *Venetian* Fleet; and the Army, when rejoined by the *Venetian* Troops, was strong enough to spare a Detachment sufficient for that Enterprize, without being obliged to remove its Camp: For the Marquis of *Saluzzo* had brought with him Five Hundred Lances, and Four Thousand Foot, and they expected every Day Two Thousand *Grisons*, listed in pursuance of an Agreement made with that People; and the Pontiff, tho' he openly made a Show of his Willingness to

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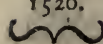
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to observe the Truce, yet having a different Intention in reserve, had left in the Army Four Thousand Foot under the Command of *Giovanni de' Medici*, from a Pretence that they were in the Pay of the King of *France*; an Excuse, for which there was an apparent Colour, because that Officer was continually in the King's Pay, and retained the Command of a Troop of Men at Arms under his Commission.

A. D.

1526.

AT last the Troops broke up from *Cremona*, the Possession of which was yielded to *Francesco Sforza*; the *Germans*, with their Commander *Conradino*, took the Road towards *Trento*, but the *Spanish* Horse and Foot having passed the *Po*, in order to pursue their March to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Lieutenant making some Difficulty to grant them Patents and a sufficient Pass, because the Pontiff did not like that they should go to *Naples*, on a sudden took the Road over the Mountain of *Piacenza*, and, after speedily repassing the *Po* at *Chiarella*, made their Way in Safety into the *Lomellina*, and from thence to *Milan*. Not only the Lieutenant broke up with the Troops of the

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Pontiff from the Walls of *Milan* in Observance of the Truce, but also *Andrea Doria* with his Gallies moved off from *Genoa*, out of which City a few Days before had marched Six Thousand Foot, partly in Pay, partly Volunteers, (for in *Genoa* were Four Thousand Men in Pay) with Orders to attack *Philippino dal Fiesco*, who had landed with Six Hundred Foot; but *Filippino* had so well fortified himself with Entrenchments and Redoubts on the Top of a Mountain, near to *Porto fino*, that he constrained them to retire with considerable Loss; but not long after *Andrea Doria*, with six Gallies, returned from *Porto fino*, in order to continue, in conjunction with the rest, the Blockade of *Genoa* by Sea.

The
League
notified to
Cæsar.

BUT in the mean time, while these Transactions passed with various Events in *Italy*, the Ambassadors of the Pontiff, the King of *France*, and the *Venetians*, on the Fourth of *September* (so long had they delayed taking that Step!) intimated to *Cæsar* the League which they had made, with the Liberty given him to enter into it on the Conditions expressed in the Articles.

The

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The Ambassador of the King of *England*, ^{A. D. 1526.} being present at this Act, delivered to him a Letter from his Master, in which he modestly advised him to enter into the League. *Cæsar*, after hearing the Intimation, made Answer to the Ambassadors, that it was inconsistent with his Dignity to enter into a Confederacy made principally against his State and Honour; but as he had been always very much disposed to an universal Peace, of which he had made so evident a Demonstration, he offered to accomplish one at present, if they had sufficient Commissions for that Purpose. Hence it was believed that he was really averse to a Peace, but proposed this Negotiation the better to justify himself, and to give the King of *England* Cause to forbear entering into the League, and, besides, to slacken by this Hope the Preparations of the Allies, and then to create some Jealousy and Distrust between them by means of this Treaty. He took care however, on the other side, to hasten the Equipment of his Fleet, which was getting together in the celebrated Port of *Carthagena*, and said to consist of Forty Sail, and to have on board Six Thousand

His An:
swer.

He pre-
pares a
Fleet.

A. D.

1526.

Foot in Pay ; and, to press forward their putting to Sea, the Viceroy set out from Court on the Twenty-fourth of *September*, *Cæsar* shewing himself much more dextrous and more diligent in Business than the King of *France*, who, though he was involved in Affairs of the deepest Concern, consumed the best Part of his Time in Hunting, Balls, and Entertainments of Women, while his Children, all Hopes of his observing the Agreement being vanished, had been conducted to *Valadolid*.

Pope arms
in his De-
fence.

THE Coming of this Fleet constrained the Pontiff, who distrusted the Faith of the Viceroy and the *Spaniards*, to arm himself. Wherefore he had not only called to *Rome Vitelli* with his Regiment and that of his Nephews, but also an Hundred Men at Arms from the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and an Hundred Light Horse from *Piermaria Rosso*; and from the Army were sent him Two Thousand *Swiss* at his own Charges, and Three Thousand *Italian* Foot. And yet he was continually declaring his Intentions of going into *Spain*,

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Spain, in order to have an Interview with *Cæsar*, from which he was dissuaded by almost all the Cardinals, especially as going on an Uncertainty, and advised first to send Legates. A D.
1526.

THE Duke of *Urbino* being returned to the Army, and without Hopes of obtaining *Milan* by Famine or Force of Arms, and the Commanders of the Fleet soliciting him with the greatest Earnestness to send some Troops for distressing *Genoa* by Land, he resolved, in order to put himself in a Condition for answering that Purpose, to decamp with the Army from the Walls of *Milan*, but to make such Dispositions as should continually obstruct the Conveyance of Provisions to that City. With this View he began with fortifying *Moncia*, in order to leave in it a Garrison whose Business should be to molest the Convoys coming from the Mountain of *Brianza* and the circumjacent Places; and, after he had fortified *Moncia*, his Intention was to remove the Army to a Post from whence he might intercept the Provisions that were continually going from *Biagrassa*

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Designs
of the
Duke of
Urbino
abortive

and *Pavia*. As soon as this Post was fortified, the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, with his Foot, and a Body of *Swiss*, was to march towards *Genoa*; a Motion ardently desired by the Fleet, that City being already reduced to such Extremities for want of Food, as to be hardly able to subsist. But these Resolutions being of such a Nature as not to be put in Execution under a much greater Length of Time than was suitable to the State of Affairs, and to the Necessities of *Genoa*, nothing now being wanted for obtaining that City but intercepting the Convoys of Provisions by Land, the Things designed were never brought to an Issue, though there were in the Army Four Thousand *Swiss*, Two Thousand *Grisons*, Four Thousand Foot under the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, Four Thousand, in the Pay of the Pontiff, under *Giovanni de' Medici*, and the *Venetian* Foot, which, according to their Obligations and Affirmations, were Ten Thousand, but, according to Truth, a much lesser Number.

THE Army, at length, broke up on the last of *October*, from the Camp, in which

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which they had so long continued, and posted themselves at *Pioltello*, five Miles distant from their former Station, having in decamping had a great Skirmish with the Troops of *Milan*, who had sallied out with *Bourbon* in Person. It was the Intention of the Duke of *Urbino* to continue at *Pioltello* so long as to give Time for finishing the Fortifications of *Moncia*, in which he designed to leave Two Thousand Foot, with some Horse, and afterwards to move with the Army to *Marignano*, where he had resolved to make another Encampment, and after he had pitched his Camp, and fortified it, and perhaps also, as he said, first taken *Bia-grassa*, to send Troops to *Genoa*: Operations that required so much Time as gave Cause to blame him, though he alleged, in Part of his Excuse, the bad Provisions of the *Venetians*, who, not paying their Foot at due Times, always fell very short of the Number which they had promised, and many of those which they had going off on deferring their Pay, they were necessitated, when they made their Payments, to replace them with

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1526.

A. D. 1526. new ones, so that it might be said, with
 an Appearance of Truth, that they had a

new Soldiery, and a new Army. But this Delay, which had hitherto appeared voluntary, began to have some Cause, and Colour of Necessity. For, after many Debates held in *Germany* about sending Succours of Foot into *Italy*, which, on account of the Insufficiency of the Archduke, and because *Cæsar* had made no Remittances of Money, had proved fruitless, *George Fronsperg*, a Man heartily con-

G. Fron-
 sperg raises
 Forces for
 Cæsar in
 Germany.

cerned for the Interest of *Cæsar*, and for the Glory of his Nation, and who had twice, with the highest Reputation, commanded a large Body of Foot, in the Service of *Cæsar*, against the *French* in *Italy*, resolving to supply the Deficiency of the Princes with his private Substance, excited, by his Authority, a Multitude of Foot, by shewing them what a fair Opportunity offered for Plunder, and enriching themselves in *Italy*; and having agreed with them, that, on receiving of him a Crown each Man, they should follow him to the Assistance of *Cæsar*, and obtained of the Archduke a Supply of
 Artillery

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Artillery and Horses, he prepared for the Expedition, appointing the Rendezvous of all the Troops between *Bolzano* and *Marano*. A. D. 1526.

THE Fame of these Preparations spreading into *Italy* gave Occasion to the Duke of *Urbino* to lay aside all Thoughts of molesting *Genoa*, which was reduced to the last Extremity, though *Andrea Doria*, abating of his first Demands, insisted only on Fifteen Thousand Foot, intending to furnish the like Number himself. But the Duke denied this Request also, alledging, for his Excuse, the Necessity he was under of detaching Fifteen Thousand of the *Venetian* Foot for the *Vicentine*, from a Fear, which had seized the *Venetians*, that the *German* Succours would direct their March by that Road. This Opinion the Duke confuted, persuading himself that they would take the Way of *Lecco*, for which Reason he would not move from his Camp at *Pioltello*, that he might be nearer the *Adda*, publishing abroad that he designed to march and meet them, and to give them Battle on the

A. D. the other Side of the *Adda*, at their Com-
1526. ing out of the *Valle di Sarfina*.

THE Affairs of *Lombardy* thus tending to be involved in new and greater Difficulties, a new Combustion was also kindled in the City of *Rome*: For the Pontiff, under a Consternation of Mind from the Insult of the *Colonnas*, and inclining to Peace, and to sail with the Fleet to *Barcelona*, in order to treat in Person with *Cæsar* on an Accommodation, had, as soon as the Enemies had quitted *Rome*, sent *Paolo d'Arezzo*, of his Bedchamber, to the King of *France*, to obtain his Consent for his Passage to *Cæsar*, in order to negotiate a Peace, and also to represent to the King his Necessities, and his Dangers, and to demand of him an Hundred Thousand Ducats to enable him to defend himself. In these Matters he was so inconsistent with himself, that, while he wanted Money of the King, and a greater Alacrity to the War, he not only denied him the Tenth, insisting on Half for himself, which the King rejected, saying, it was never the Custom in *France*, but also could

Pope's inconsistent Conduct.

could not prevail with himself to advance to the Purple the Great Chancellor, who, by his Authority in the King's Councils, and because all the Dispatches of Money passed through his Hands, might have been of very great Service to him in all his Designs. The King did not fail to condole, with *Paolo* and the other Nuncios, the Misfortune of *Rome*, and to offer the Pontiff every thing for his Defence, to convince him that he could no longer put any Confidence in *Cæsar*, to encourage him, and to persuade him to break off the Truce, in which Case, he said, and not otherwise, he was willing to pay the Twenty Thousand Ducats each Month, as he had engaged. He was advised to the same Purpose by the King of *England*, who also dissuaded him from going to *Barcelona*, and had before, on the first Notice of the Accident at *Rome*, sent him Twenty-five Thousand Ducats. The King of *France* dissuaded the Pope's Going to the Princes, as a Step which, for its Importance, deserved much Consideration: And at first he refused Leave to *Paolo* to proceed to *Cæsar*, either because
he

A. D.

1526.

A. D.

1526.

he had a Suspicion that the Pontiff would begin a separate Negotiation with him, or because, as he said, it was more honourable to treat of a Peace by the Mediation of the King of *England*, than seem to beg it of *Cæsar*. However, not long afterwards, on new Instances made from *Rome* for his Going, he consented to it, either because he really desired Peace, or because he began to dislike to have it negotiated by the King of *England*, whose Proceedings were such as gave him just Reason to doubt that, for his own particular Interest, he would draw him into inconvenient and disadvantageous Conditions, since that King, or rather the Cardinal of *York*, under his Name, full of Ambition, and desirous to be Judge of every thing, proposed extravagant Conditions, and, having also different Ends from those of the others, would suffer him to be over-reached by *Cæsar*, and would not be sorry that the Dutchy of *Milan* should, by means of the Peace, be given to the Duke of *Bourbon*, provided he were to espouse *Cæsar's* Sister, that so he might have

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have free Power to marry his own Daughter to the King of *France* *.

A. D.
1526.

THE Persuasion therefore which the two Kings used with the Pontiff, the Fear of losing his Confederates, and, being deprived of their Support, of becoming a Prey to *Cæsar* and his Ministers, the Stimulation of his own Counsellors themselves, the Indignation he had conceived against the *Colonnas*, and his Desire, by taking a just Vengeance of them, to recover, in some measure, his lost Honour, induced him to turn those Forces against the Towns of the *Colonnas* which he had before called to *Rome* only for his own Security ; judging that no Reason obliged him to observe that Agreement, which he had made not voluntarily, but deceived by their Frauds, and forced, with a Breach of Faith, by their Arms. The Pontiff then sent *Vitello* with his Troops to do all the Mischief he could to the *Colonnas*, designing to burn and level all their Towns, because, on account of the inveterate Affection of the People and of the Party, the

Pope falls upon the *Colonnas*.

Taking

* *Cæsar's* Sister *Eleanora* had been promised to the Duke of *Bourbon*, but by the Treaty of *Madrid* she was to be married to the King of *France*.

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1526.

Taking of them only was of little Prejudice. At the same time he published a Monitory against the Cardinal and others of his Family, by Virtue of which he afterwards deprived the Cardinal of the Dignity of the Cardinalship. That Prelate, seeking to defend himself with the Bill of Simony, had before published Appeals in *Naples*, and appealed to a future Council. Against the other *Colonnas*, who were lifting Horse and Foot in the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Pontiff superseded his Pronunciation of the Sentence. The Troops entered their Territories, and burnt *Marino* and *Montefortino*, but their Castles still held out for the *Colonnas*. They laid even with the Ground *Gallicano* and *Tagarolo*, the *Colonnas* chusing to defend only the strongest Places, and especially the Town of *Palliano*, strong by its Situation, which renders it difficult to bring Cannon before it, and accessible only by three Ways, of which one cannot succour another, it had also a very thick Wall, and the Men of the Place were very well disposed to defend it. It is however believed that

that if *Vitello* had marched with Speed A. D.
1526. to attack it, though many Inhabitants of the Towns that were taken had fled thither for Refuge, he would have made himself Master of it, because there were no regular Troops in the Place. But while he delayed to march thither, agreeably to his natural Disposition, which made every thing appear to him full of Difficulties and Dangers when it came to be put in Execution, Five Hundred German and Spanish Foot, ordered thither from the Kingdom of *Naples*, and Two Hundred Horse entering the Town in the Night, rendered the Enterprize so difficult, that *Vitello*, who at that time kept his Troops about *Grotta ferrata*, thought no more of attacking *Palliano*, nor yet *Rocca di Papa*, but, after sending some Troops to erect a Battery against the Castle of *Montefortino*, in which the *Colonnas* had a Garrison, resolved to assemble his whole Force at *Valmontone*, rather to cover the Country from an Invasion on the Side of the Kingdom of *Naples*, than with Hopes of performing any thing of Moment.

THIS

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1526.

THIS Conduct procured *Vitello* sufficient Blame from the Pontiff, who, at this Time when he had designed to attack the Kingdom of *Naples*, and afterwards when he called the Troops to *Rome* for his Defence, was desirous to employ in that Expedition *Vitello* and *Giovanni de' Medici*, Generals united in the Bonds of Friendship and Kindred, in whom the Coldness and Remissness of one seemed proper to moderate and be moderated by the Heat and Fierceness of the other. But *Giovanni* being drawn by the Fates to an untimely Death in *Lombardy*, the Pontiff had, by the Counsel of the Lieutenant, served himself in the mean time, in lesser Concerns, of *Vitello*, and delayed to call the other till he had an Occasion, either of greater Necessity, or for a greater Enterprize, that he might not, during that Time, deprive the Army of a Man, who, by his Courage and Valour, was a Terror to Enemies, and a Safeguard to Friends; and the more because of the hot Reports of the Coming of the *German* Foot, which, with the

Advices

Advices that the *Spanish* Armada was on the Point of sailing from the Port of *Carthagena*, constrained the Pontiff, who was also greatly stimulated by the Confederates and by his own Council, to think of making some Composition, to which he had been always very averse, with the Duke of *Ferrara*, not so much to secure himself from his Movements, as to draw from him a great Sum of Money, and to induce him to put himself at the Head of the Army in quality of Captain General of the whole Forces.

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Advised
to an Accommodation
with the
Duke of
Ferrara.

THE Pontiff, after many Debates on this Subject with *Matteo Casella* of *Faenza*, the Duke's Ambassador, commissioned his Lieutenant, who was at *Parma*, to repair to *Ferrara*, giving him in Show a Brief with very ample Powers, but restraining his Commission to the consenting to repossess the Duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*, in Consideration of receiving from him in a short time Two Hundred Thousand Ducats; to oblige him to declare himself and act in the Army as General of the League, and to consent that his eldest Son should

A. D.
1526.

take to Wife *Caterina*, the Daughter of *Lorenzo de' Medici*; and to try also if it were practicable to procure another Match between a Daughter of the Duke, with a competent Dowry, and *Ippolito de' Medici*, Son of the late *Giuliano*. There were many more Instructions, which were not only in a manner inextricable in themselves from the Shortness of the Time, but also the Pontiff, who had not condescended to them but out of the last Necessity, had charged him to come to no perfect Conclusion about them without fresh Advices and Commission. This Commission was a few Days after enlarged, both in the Instructions and in the Power of concluding, because the Pontiff had Advice that the Viceroy was arrived in the Bay of *San Firenze* in *Corfica* with Two and Thirty Ships, having on board Three Hundred Horse, Two Thousand Five Hundred *German* Foot, and between Three and Four Thousand *Spanish* Foot. But the Will of the Pontiff now became of no Signification, for aboard the same Fleet was an Agent of the Duke of *Ferrara*, who, being dispatched from the said Place with great Diligence,

It mis-
car-
ries.

ligence, not only gave the Duke Advice A. D.
1526. of the Arrival of the Fleet, but also brought with him from *Cæsar* the Investiture of *Modena* and *Reggio*, with a verbal Promise of giving in Marriage *Margaret* of *Austria*, natural Daughter of *Cæsar*, to *Ercole*, the Duke's eldest Son. On these Accounts *Alfonso*, who before was in longing Expectation of the Coming of the Lieutenant, changing his Mind, imagining also that, by the Approach of the *Germans* and of the Armada, Affairs were taking a very favourable Turn for *Cæsar*, notified, by his Counsellor *Jacopo Alverotto* of *Padoua*, to the Lieutenant, who had set out from *Parma*, and was got as far as *Cento*, the Dispatches he had received from *Spain*, by which, tho' he was not obliged to act offensively against the Pontiff or the League, yet, having received so much Kindness from *Cæsar*, it was not fit to treat any more about acting against him; and that a Stop being, by this means, put to the Negotiation for the Sake of which he was coming to *Ferrara*, he had thought fit to signify it to him, lest his Silence should give just Cause of Anger to the Pontiff, nor forbid-

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1526.

ding however his Proceeding to *Ferrara*, but leaving it to his Choice whether he would come or not.

Duke of
Urbino
marches
against the
Germans
under
Fronsperg.

THE Lieutenant, convinced by this Declaration that his Journey would be fruitless, was not willing any longer to interest the Reputation of the Pontiff in a Treaty without Hopes of Success, and recalled also by the necessitous Condition of the Affairs of *Lombardy*, after proposing a new Scheme of Agreement, immediately returned to *Modena*. The whole State of the Church on that Side became every Day more exposed to Danger; for *George Fronsperg*, with the German Foot, to the Number of between Thirteen and Fourteen Thousand, having taken the Road that lies through the Valley of *Sabbio*, and by the Castle of *Anfo*, towards *Salo*, was now arrived at *Castiglione dello Strivieri* in the *Mantouan*. To oppose this new Invader, the Duke of *Urbino*, who, in order to be in a Readiness to march and meet him, had conducted the Army to *Vauri* on the *Adda* between *Trezzo* and *Cassano*, and thrown a Bridge there, and fortified that Post,

Post, leaving in it the Marquis of *Saluzzo* A. D.
1526. with the *French, Swiss, Grisons*, and his own Foot, took his March on the Nineteenth of *November* from *Vauri*, accompanied by *Giovanni de' Medici* at the Head of Six Hundred Men at Arms, and by a great Number of Light Horse, and between Eight and Nine Thousand Foot, designing not to attack the *Germans* directly in the Field, but to infest them, and incommode their Convoys of Provisions, which, he said, was the only Way, by creating some Disorder among them, to overcome such firm and well disciplined Troops. On the Twenty-first he advanced to *Sonzino*, whence he detached *Mercurio* with all the Light Horse, and a Squadron of Men at Arms, to infest them, and to give Time to the Army to come up with them, being apprehensive, because they were that same Day encamped at *Cavriana*, that he should arrive too late, laying the Blame of his Slowness and Delay in setting out from *Vauri* on the Negligence and Avarice of the Proveditor *Pisani*, which had necessitated him to stop a Day or two the longer in expectation of Oxen for drawing the Artillery;

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1526.

the Want of which, he said, was afterwards the Cause of very great Disorders, and in a manner the Ruin of the whole Enterprize. It had hitherto been doubtful which Way the *Germans* intended to direct their Course; for it was at first believed that they would take their March through the *Brescian* and *Bergamese* towards the *Adda*, with a Design to give an Opportunity to the Imperial Troops to meet and join them, and then to proceed in Company with them to *Milan*. Afterwards it was apprehended that their Intention was to pass the *Po* at *Casalmaggiore*, and from thence to take the Road to *Milan*. But being, on the Twenty-second Day, advanced to *Rivalta*, Eight Miles distant from *Mantoua*, between the *Mincio* and the *Oglio*, the same Day the Duke encamped at *Prato Albuino*, and not having passed the *Mincio* at *Goito*, it was taken for a Sign that they were resolved to pass the *Po* at *Borgoforte* or *Viadana*, rather than at *Ostia*, or in Places lower down the River; and if they passed *Ostia* they would probably take the Road to *Modena* and *Bologna*, in both which Places Levies were making of Foot, besides
other

other Provisions. The Germans, on the ^{A. D.} Twenty-fourth, took their March to *Borgo-*
^{1526.}
forte, where, having brought no Artillery with them, arrived Four Falconets, sent them, by the *Po*, from the Duke of *Ferrara*; an Assistance small in itself, but very great in its Consequence by the Kindness of Fortune; for the Duke of *Urbino*, being on his March after them, and entered into the Seraglio* of *Mantoua*, which they had not yet quitted, *Giovanni de' Medici* with the Light Horse came up with their Rear as they approached *Borgoforte*, tho' with little Hopes of Advantage, and approaching them the more boldly, because he knew they had no Cannon, they fired from one of the Falconets, and at the Second Discharge the Ball struck and broke the Leg of *Giovanni de' Medici* a little above the Knee, of which Wound, being carried to *Mantoua*, he died a few Days after, to the very great Detriment of the Undertaking, in which the Enemy had never dreaded any Arms but those of *Giovanni*: For tho' he was but a young Man, of

Death and Character of *Giovanni de' Medici*.

N 4

Twenty-

* A pleasant District of the *Mantouan* so called. See the larger Maps of *Lombardy*.

A. D.
1526.

Twenty-nine Years of Age, and of a very fierce Courage, his Experience and Abilities were superior to his Years, and the Fervor of Youth every Day becoming more moderate, and many express Indications of Industry and Counsel appearing in him, it was expected for certain that he would soon attain the Character of a most famous and accomplished General in the military Art. The *Germans* after this continued their March, without any farther Molestation, by the Way of *Ostia*, along the *Po*, the Duke of *Urbino* being at *Borgoforte*. On the Twenty-eighth they passed the *Po* at *Ostia*, and encamped at *Rovere*, where they were assisted with a Sum of Money by the Duke of *Ferraro*, and some more Field Pieces, *Bologna* and all *Tuscany* being in a terrible Consternation. For the Duke of *Urbino*, tho' he had constantly declared before that if they passed the *Po* he would also pass that River; was marched to *Mantoua*, saying that he would wait there for Orders from the *Venetian* Senate whether he were to pass the *Po* or not. But the *Germans*, after passing the River *Secchia*, took the Road of *Lombardy*,

bardy, in order to join the Forces that were *A. D.*
in *Milan*. 1526.

AT this time the Viceroy, putting off *Cæsar's*
from *Corfica* with Five and Twenty Sail, Fleet en-
for Two of his Ships were cast away in a gaged
Storm before he arrived at *San Firenze*, and with that
Five others were separated from the rest of the
and dispersed, met off *Sestri di Levante* the Confede-
Fleet of the League, consisting of Six Gal- rates.
lies of the King of *France*, Five of the
Pope, and Five of the *Venetians*. The
Two Fleets engaged off *Codemonte* for Two
Hours while it was Light, and *Doria* wrote
that they had sunk a Ship of theirs with
above Three Hundred Men, and had
greatly endamaged their whole Fleet with
their Cannon, and that the Gallies had
been forced by the rough Weather to re-
tire under the Mount of *Portofino*; that
they expected the same Night some other
Gallies which lay at *Porto Venere*, but,
whether they came or not, they would at
Break of Day go in Search of the Enemy.
But tho' they pursued their Fleet as far as
Livorno they could not come up with it
because it was several Miles a-head of them,
for

A. D.
1526.

for as they had imagined it would make for *Corfica* or *Sardinia*, they had not prepared to give Chace to it. The Viceroy afterwards pursued his Voyage; but met with bad Weather, which disperfed his Fleet, Part of which, with *Don Ferrando Gonzaga*, bore away for *Sicily*, from whence it afterwards passed over to *Gaeta*, and landed some *German Foot*, and the Viceroy, with the rest of the Armada, arrived at the Port of *Santo Stefano*, from whence, having no certain Accounts of the present Circumstances of Affairs, he dispatched to the Pontiff at *Rome* the Comendatary *Pignalosa* with Instructions expreffive of the good Dispositions of *Cæsar*, and he himself, as soon as the Sea permitted, sailed away and arrived with the Fleet at *Gaeta*.

Motions
of the Ger-
mans.

IN the mean time the *German Foot* having passed the *Secchia*, and pursued their March toward *Razzuolo* and *Gonzaga*, encamped the Third of *December* at *Guaftalla*, the Fourth at *Castelnuovo* and *Povi*, Ten Miles from *Parma*, where they were joined by the Prince of *Orange*, who was
come

come from *Mantoua* with Two Companies in the Habit of a simple Harquebufier, A. D.
1526.

On the Fifth they passed the River *Lenzo* at the Bridge on the main Road, and encamped at *Montechiarucoli*, the Duke of *Urbino*, without any Concern for the present Danger, still passing his Time at *Mantoua* with his Wife. On the Seventh the *Germans* passed the River *Parma*, and encamped at the Hill of *Felina*; the Weather was rainy, and the Rivers swelled. By intercepted Letters of General *George* to the Duke of *Bourbon*, he seemed very irresolute on what was to be done. On the Eleventh Day they passed the *Taro*, and the next Day encamped at *Borgo a San Donnino*, where they gave a Specimen of the *Lutheran* Venom against Sacred Things, and the Images of the Saints. From *Firenzuola*, where they encamped on the Thirteenth, as it appeared by intercepted Letters, they solicited the Forces in *Milan* to come and join them. These Troops were very willing to comply with their Desire, but were retained by the Want of Money; for the *Spaniards* threatened that they would not march out of *Milan*, if they

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they were not paid their Arrears, and began already to plunder. But at last they were with Difficulty persuaded by the Generals to agree on receiving their Pay by five Payments, for which it was necessary to strip the Churches of their Plate, and to imprison many of the Citizens. As fast as the Soldiers were paid off they were sent away to *Pavia*, though with very great Difficulty, for they were very loth to leave *Milan*: And these Things requiring Time, some *Italian* Horse and Foot were in the mean while detached to join the *Germans* on the other Side the *Po*.

Duke of
Urbino
frustrates
the Coun-
sel of the
Lieute-
nant.

THE Lieutenant had made Instances that, for the Security of the State of the Church on that Side, the Duke of *Urbino* should pass the *Po* with the *Venetian* Troops. But the Duke had not only delayed, sometimes saying that he waited for Advice of the Will of the *Venetians*, sometimes alledging other Reasons, but represented to the Senate that it was to be feared, if he should pass the *Po*, that the Imperialists would fall upon their Dominions;

minions ; on which they ordered him not to pass : And, what is more to be re-
 garded on the same Account, he had several Days detained the Foot which had been commanded by *Giovanni de' Medici*, when solicited by the Lieutenant to pass the *Po* for the Defence of the Possessions of the Church. Moreover the Marquis of *Saluzzo* having, on the Sollicitations of the Lieutenant for Succours, passed the *Adda*, to which he was also induced because, the *Swiss* and *Grison* Infantry being diminished, he thought himself too weak in his Camp at *Vauri*, the *Venetians*, who had before consented that the Marquis should pass the *Po* to the Relief of the Pontiff with Ten Thousand Foot between *Swiss* and his own Troops, which were paid by them with the Forty Thousand Ducats of the King of *France* (the Care of the Receipts and Disbursements of which, after the Pontiff had made the Truce, being intrusted with them, there was a Suspicion, which was afterwards much increased, that they had converted some Part of it to the Payment of their own Troops) moved afterwards by the Persuasions

A. D.
1526.

A. D. suasions of the Duke of *Urbino*, in-

1526.

treated him not to pass; and therefore the Duke having, for that Purpose, appointed a Conference with him at *Sonzino*, so long delayed his Coming that the Marquis went away: However, he not only used all his Endeavours to cause him to stop, that he might the better inform himself of the Motions of the *Germans*, but also openly advised him not to pass the River. Another Cause that retarded the Marquis was, that Money was not in Readiness for the Payments of the *Swiss*, who were Six Thousand in Number according to the Lists, but scarce above Four Thousand effective Men. But though, for these Reasons, he deferred his Passage till the Twenty-seventh of *December*, he sent however Part of the *French* Cavalry, with some Foot, to post themselves in different Parts of the Country, for disturbing the Conveyance of Victuals to the *Germans*, who had rested many Days at *Firenzuola*. For the same Purpose was *Guido Vaina* sent with an Hundred Light Horse to *Borgo a San Donnino*, and *Paolo Luzzasco* with a good Body of Horse had marched
out

out of *Piacenza*, and approached *Firenzuola*, from whence Part of the *Germans*, for the more conveniently supplying themselves with Provisions, were gone to encamp at the Castle of *Arqua*.

A. D.

1526.

THE Apprehensions from these Troops had before given Occasion for providing *Piacenza*, but not with such a Force as seemed requisite, because the Lieutenant, who had always, after the Coming of the *Germans*, been apprehensive that the Difficulty of making a Progress in *Lombardy* would force the Imperialists to pass into *Tuscany*, was desirous that they would venture to lay Siege to *Piacenza*. For this Reason, which was unknown to any, even to the Pope himself, he delayed to provide *Piacenza* so far as to give Hopes to the Enemy that it might be taken, making such Provisions, however, as would render its Acquisition difficult, and hoping that, if it should be besieged, he should find Means to relieve it. But the long Stay of the *Germans* in the neighbouring Places, every one crying out as in Pain for the Danger of that City, forced him

Lieutenant's secret Resolution.

A. D
1526.

him at last to consent that Count *Guido Rangone* should repair thither with a good Body of Troops, whither also, by an Order of the *Venetians*, who had promised, for relieving the Pope's Necessities, to reinforce the Garrison with a Thousand Foot, - was detached *Babbone di Naldo*, one of their general Officers, with the said Number, but by the bad Payments they were soon diminished to Four Hundred.

Motions
of the
Confederate
and
German
Forces.

THE Marquis of *Saluzzo* at last passed the *Po*, but with no more than Four Thousand between *Swiss* and *Grisons*, and Three Thousand Foot of his own, and being advanced to *Pulesine*, though he was desired to keep that Post as commodious for infesting the Camp at *Firenzuola*, whither *Luzzasco* made frequent Excursions, yet he retired for his greater Security to *Torricella* and *Siffa*. But two Days after the *Germans* decamped from *Firenzuola*, and removed to *Carpineta* and the circumjacent Places. The Design of the Duke of *Bourbon* was not yet known, whether to besiege *Piacenza* directly on his

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his March out of *Milan*, or to proceed forwards towards *Tuscany*. On the last Day of the Year the *Germans* crossed the *Nura* in order to pass the *Trebbia*, and there wait for *Bourbon*, it being a Quarter less infested by the Enemy.

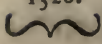
A. D.
1526.

IN this cold Situation of the Affairs of *Lombardy*, proceeding not so much from the very severe Season of the Year, as from the Difficulty under which *Bourbon* laboured of paying the Troops, hence the *Milanese* were wonderfully vexed and tormented for Provision of Money. On account of this Necessity *Gieronimo Morone*, who was condemned to Death, the Night before the Morning appointed for his Execution compounded for Twenty Thousand Ducats, for which Purpose a Design had been pretended to cut off his Head. On Payment of this Money being set at Liberty, by the Vivacity of his Parts, from a Prisoner of the Duke of *Bourbon* he soon became his Counsellor, and in the Space of a few Days in a manner his absolute Governor.

Morone released by the Duke of Bourbon.

A. D.

1526.


 THERE was much Treating between the Pontiff and the Viceroy of a Truce, or a Peace; but the truer and more substantial Design of the Viceroy was to make War, to which he was animated, since his Arrival at *Gaeta*, by the Encouragements of the *Colonnas*, and by understanding that the Pontiff, quite exhausted of Spirits and Money, was ardently desirous of an Agreement, publishing to every one his Poverty and his Fear, and yet could not be persuaded to make a Creation of Cardinals for raising of Money, as all advised him, which increased the Boldness and Hopes of those who designed to attack him. For the Pontiff, who had not entered into the War with a suitable Constancy of Mind, had written, as far back as the Twentieth of *June*, to *Cæsar* a Brief in sharp Terms, and full of Complaints, in which he excuses himself as necessitated by him to take up Arms. But imagining, after he had dispatched it, that he had been too sharp, he immediately wrote another in milder Terms, ordering *Baldassarre da Castiglione*, his Nuncio, to keep the first, which was arrived before, and had been presented.

Pope's In-
constancy.

presented. The other Letter was afterwards delivered, and *Cæsar* answered separately, tho' in one and the same Dispatch, each of these Letters according to its Contents; the sharp Letter had a sharp Answer, and the meek one as meek a Return.

HE had hearkened to the General of the *Franciscans*, who, on his Departure from *Rome* for *Spain* when the War broke out, had been charged by the Pope with a kind Message to *Cæsar*, and being just returned to *Rome* with a Commission from *Cæsar*, had made an ample Report of his good Disposition, and that he would be content to come into *Italy* with Five Thousand Men, and, after taking the Crown of the Empire, would immediately pass into *Germany* to give Orders concerning the Affair of *Luther*, without mentioning a Council; that he was willing to agree with the *Venetians* on honourable Conditions; to refer to Two Arbitrators, appointed by the Pope and himself, the Cause of *Francesco Sforza*, and, if *Sforza* should be condemned, to give the State of *Milan* to the Duke of *Bourbon*; to remove his Army out of *Italy*,

A. D.
1526.

Overtures
of Peace
from *Cæ-*
sar.

A. D. 1526. the Pope and the *Venetians* paying him three hundred thousand Crowns for satisfying their Arrears, which however they might treat on reducing to a more moderate Sum; to restore the King his Children, on receiving of him, at two or more Terms, Two Millions of Gold. He shewed that it was easy to accommodate Matters with the King of *England*, because there was no great Sum in Dispute between them, and the King of *France* had offered to pay it. For entering into a Treaty on these Overtures, all which the Pontiff communicated to the *French* and *Venetian* Ambassadors, he offered a general Truce for Eight or Ten Months, saying that he had full Powers from *Cæsar* for himself, and for the Viceroy, or Don *Ugo*.

How received by
the Allies.

ON account of these Proposals the Pontiff, after giving an Audience to *Pignalosa*, understanding that the Viceroy was sailed from the Port of *Santo Stefano*, sent the General to *Gaeta* to treat with him. For neither would the *Venetians* have refused the Truce, if made with the Concurrence of the King of *France*, who had not shown himself

himself averſe to it; and beſides his Mother had ſent to *Rome Lorenzo Toſcano*, ſhewing an Inclination to an Agreement in which all ſhould be comprehended. And as he imagined that no Negotiation could well aſſure itſelf of Succeſs without the Conſent of *Bourbon*, he ſent to him, for the ſame Purpoſes, one of his own Almoners, who was at *Rome*, whom the Duke ſoon after ſent back to the Pontiff, to aſſiſt in the Treaty; not deſiſting however from carrying on at the ſame Time his warlike Operations, he deputed Cardinal *Agostino Trivulzio* his Legate to the Army in the *Campagna*, and made Preparations alſo to attack the Kingdom of *Naples* by Sea.

On the Third of *December* arrived at *Civita Vecchia* *Pietro Navarra*, with Twenty-eight Gallies of the Pontiff, *French*, and *Venetians*; and about the same Time put into *Savona*, with a Fleet of Ships of War*, *Renzo da Ceri*, sent by the King of *France* to assist in the Expedition designed against the Kingdom of *Naples*. On the other side *Afcanio Colonna*, with Two Thousand Foot, and Three Hundred

A. D. 1526. *Hundred Horse, came to Valbuona, Fifteen Miles from Tiboli, where are seated the Towns of the Abbot of Farfa, and of Gianjordano: With these Forces on the Twelfth of December he took Cepperano, which had no Garrison; Vitello, on the other hand, with the Troops of the Pontiff, drew together between Tiboli, Palestrina, and Velletri. After this the Colonnas took Pontecorvo, where was no Garrison, and gave a fruitless Assault to Scarpa, a Castle belonging to the Abbey of Farfa, a small and weak Place. Then Cæsar Filetino, with Fifteen Hundred Foot, in the Night, approached Alagnia, into which Five Hundred of his Men being secretly introduced, by some Men of the Town, through a House contiguous to the Wall, were repulsed and driven out by Gian Li-one da Fano, who commanded the Troops of the Pontiff in that Place.*

Viceroy's
haughty
Demands.

The General of the *Franciscans* now returned from the Viceroy, and reported that he would consent to a Truce for some Months; that a Peace might in the mean time be negotiated; but that he demanded
Money,

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Money, and the Fortresses of *Ostio* and *Civita vecchia* for Security. But, in contradiction to his Account, the Archbishop of *Capoua*, who arrived at *Gaeta* after his Departure, and perhaps was sent thither by the evil Counsel of the Pontiff, wrote that the Viceroy would have no Truce but with the Pontiff alone, or with the Pontiff and *Venetians*, on paying him Money for maintaining the Army to secure the Peace, and then he would treat about a Truce with the rest; either because he had really changed his Mind, or, as many doubted, through the Persuasions of the Archbishop.

About this Time also *Paolo d'Arezzo* being arrived at *Cæsar's* Court with Credentials from the Pontiff, the *Venetians*, and *Francesco Sforza*, whither also the King of *England*, for the same Purpose of Peace, would have the Auditor of the Chamber repair, because the King of *France* had also an Agent there before, found him altered in his Resolutions on Advice of the Arrival of the *Germans*, and of the Fleet in *Italy*. Revoking therefore the Conditions before proposed, he demanded that

Cæsar
proposes
harder
Condi-
tions.

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1526.

the King of *France* should observe in all Points the Convention of *Madrid*, and that the Cause of *Francesco Sforza* should be examined in a judicial Way by Judges appointed by himself. Thus did the Intentions of *Cæsar* receive Alterations from the Successes of Affairs, and the Instructions given by him to his Ministers in *Italy*, on account of the Distance of Place, included either an exprefs or a tacit Condition of being managed according to the Variety of Times and Occasions. The Viceroy, therefore, after several Days deluding the Pontiff with empty Negotiations, and not chusing to consent to a Suspension of Arms for a few Days till the Issue of the Debate was known, set out the Twentieth on his March from *Naples* towards the State of the Church, proposing new and extravagant Conditions of Agreement.

ON the last Day of the Year followed the Capitulation of the Duke of *Ferrara*, concluded by an Ambassador of his with the Viceroy, and with *Ugo*, who had a Commission from *Cæsar*, tho' little to the Satisfaction

Satisfaction of that Ambassador, who was A. D. 1526.
 in a manner constrained by the Viceroy
 with Menaces and sharp Words to consent:

That the Duke of *Ferrara* should be Articles of Capitulation between
 obliged to serve with his Person and his Caesar and the Duke of Ferrara
 State against every Enemy of *Caesar*:
 That he should be *Caesar's* Captain General
 in *Italy*, and have the Command of One

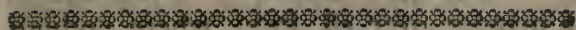
Hundred Men at Arms, and Two Hundred Light Horse, but with an Obligation to furnish them out with his own Money, which was to be repaid, or allowed in his Accounts: That for the Dowry of the Natural Daughter of *Caesar* promised to his Son he should receive at present the Town of *Carpi*, and the Fortrefs of *Novi*, formerly belonging to *Alberto Pio*; but that the Revenues, till the Consummation of the Matrimony, should be compensated by his Stipends, and that *Vespasiano Colonna*, and the Marquis *del Guasto*, should renounce the Right which they claimed to these Places: That as soon as he should recover *Modena* he should pay Two Hundred Thousand Ducats, but computing in the Number those which he had paid the Viceroy after the Battle of *Pavia*; but if
 he

A. D. 1526. he should not recover *Modena*, the Money which he had before disbursed was to be repaid him: That *Cæsar* should be obliged to his Protection, and should not be at Liberty to make Peace without comprehending him in it, by procuring from the Pontiff Absolution from the Censures and Penalties incurred since he had declared himself a Confederate of *Cæsar*; and should use all his Endeavours to obtain it for those incurred before. Thus ended the Year 1526 with Preparations on all hands for an open and vigorous War.

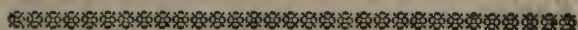
The End of the SEVENTEENTH BOOK.



Francesco Guicciardini's
H I S T O R Y
O F
The WARS in ITALY.



B O O K XVIII.



T H E C O N T E N T S.

Duke of Bourbon leaves Milan, and, diverted from the Siege of Piacenza, marches towards Tuscany. Viceroy and Colonnas at War with the Pope, who invades the Kingdom of Naples. Bourbon leads his Army to Rome, is killed in assaulting it, but his Forces enter, sack it, and make the Pope and many Cardinals Prisoners. This occasions a Revolution in Florence. Pope capitulates. King of England declares against Cæsar. Lautrech, General of the Confederates, takes and sacks

*sacks Pavia, and after many Successes leads
his victorious Army before Naples.*

A. D.

1527.

THE Year 1527 will appear full
of most atrocious, and for several
Ages unheard of Events ; as,
Changes of States, Captivity of Princes,
Sackings of Cities in a most shocking
Manner, a great Scarcity of Provisions,
and a raging Pestilence spreading itself in
a manner over all *Italy*, where nothing
was to be seen but Death, Flight and
Rapine.

The Beginning of these Calamities was
retarded by nothing but the Difficulty
which the Duke of *Bourbon* found in
causing the *Spanish* Foot to leave their
Quarters, and march out of *Milan*. For
it had been concerted that *Antonio da
Leva* should remain for the Defence of
the Dutchy of *Milan*, with all the *German*
Foot that were there before, in whose
Maintenance was expended all the Money
collected from the *Milanese*, besides the
Sums received on the Bills which the
Duke of *Bourbon* had brought from *Spain*,
and

and with 1200 *Spanish* Foot, and a certain Number of *Italian* Foot under *Lodovico da Belgiojoso* and other Chiefs, who having no Pay of *Cæsar*, but supporting themselves by Customs and Contributions, and making free with the Houses and Women of the *Milanese*, were pleased with sitting still after so licentious a Manner. But as these Troops could not directly refuse, they demanded to be first satisfied for their Arrears to that Instant of Time. At last however they promised to follow the Orders of the Duke, on receiving from him five Pays; but it was very difficult to provide them, neither Menaces, nor Seizure of Goods, nor Imprisonment being sufficient to draw Money from the *Milanese*, whither, for Subsistence of the Army, the Absent were also summoned, and the Goods of those who did not appear given to the Soldiers.

A. D.
1527.

Duke of
Bourbon
marches
out of *Mi-*
lan.

At last, all Difficulties surmounted, the Imperial Troops, on the last Day but one of *January*, passed the River *Po*; and the next Day, Part of the *Germans*, who had

Motions
of the Ar-
mies.

A. D. had before passed the *Trebbia*, repassed it, ^{1527.} and went to post themselves at *Ponte nuovo*. The rest of the Army halted beyond *Piacenza*, under the Observation of the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, who was at *Parma*, with all his Troops extended through the Country: And the Duke of *Urbino*, being advanced to *Casal maggiore*, the *Venetians* having referred the Passage of the *Po* to his Discretion, began to pass over his Troops, declaring that, if the Imperialists, according to his Advices from *Milan*, took their Way towards *Tuscany*, he would pass in Person with 600 Men at Arms, 9000 Foot, and 500 Light Horse, and be at *Bologna* before them; as would also the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, with his own Forces, and those of the Church.

The Imperial Army stayed about twenty Days, sometimes on this Side sometimes beyond *Piacenza*, detained partly by the Difficulty of Money, the *Germans* having as yet received none of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and partly because the Duke had an Inclination to lay Siege to *Piacenza*, perhaps more for the Difficulty

culty of proceeding forwards than for any other Reason. Wherefore he solicited the Duke of *Ferrara* to furnish him with Powder for the Artillery, and to put himself on his March to join him, offering to send 500 Men at Arms, and General *George* with 6000 Foot to meet him. To this Demand the Duke answered that it was impossible to send him Powder through the Enemy's Country, and that he could not attempt to join him without Danger, because all the Forces of the League were in the Neighbourhood: But, supposing all this to be easy, *Bourbon* ought to consider that he could not do the Enemies a greater Service, and which they more desired, than to lose Time in busying himself about those Towns one after another; and to know that if he should not take *Piacenza*, or should perhaps take it, but after a long Time, what would become of his Reputation, or by what Ways and Means the War could be prosecuted, under so great a Want of Money and of all other Provisions: That the only Way to Victory, and to do Service to *Cæsar*, was to advance towards the Head, and, laying

A. D.

1527.

Duke of
Ferrara
counsels
Bourbon:

A. D. laying aside all other Enterprises, to march
 1527. at once to *Bologna*, where he might resolve either on making an Attempt to force that Town, for which his Assistance should not be wanting, or on pursuing his March towards *Florence* or *Rome*.

Proceed-
 ings of the
 War in the
 Ecclesiasti-
 cal State.

DURING these Debates, and while *Bourbon* was providing Money not only to pay off the Remainder of what was due to the *Spaniards*, but also to give something to the *Germans*, among whom, at their Departure from *Piacenza*, he distributed two Crowns for each Man, the War went on briskly in the State of the Church, *Renzo da Ceri* being newly arrived from *France* in the Ecclesiastical Camp, which was near to the Camp of the Viceroy, who was in the Neighbourhood of *Cepperano*, where some Foot of the *Italians* routed 300 *Spaniards*. But there was a Variety of Opinions on the Method to be taken for the Defence of the Ecclesiastical State; *Vitello* had, before the Coming of *Renzo*, advised the Pontiff to abandon the Province of *Campagna*, and to put 2000 Foot into *Tiboli*,

as

as many into *Palestrina*, and to post the rest of the Army at *Velletri*, to prevent the Viceroy from marching to *Rome*. A Resolution being taken according to this Advice, *Renzo*, on his Arrival, condemned the Disposal of the Troops within *Velletri*, because it was a large Town, and not easy to be fortified, and because it left the Enemy at liberty to proceed too far. But his Advice was to post the Army at *Ferentino*, where not being so many Places to guard, it would be stronger and more compact, and it was a Place convenient for stopping the Enemy from advancing any further. This Counsel was approved, and a Garrison was placed in *Frusolone*, the Residence of the Lieutenant of *Campagna*, six Miles from *Ferentino*, of 1800 Foot of those of the late *Giovanni de' Medici*, most of which went by the Name of the *Black Bands*, with *Alessandro Vitello*, *Giovambattista Savello*, and *Pietro da Birago*, Officers of Light Horse.

BUT while this passed, the *Colonnas* had secretly induced *Napolione Orsino*, Abbot of *Farfa*, to take up Arms in the Territory of *Farfa*, committed to Prison.

A. D. 1527. about *Rome*, as in the Pay of *Cæsar*. The Pontiff, of whom he had before received Money, having private Information of it, dissembled the Affair, till having artfully drawn him to go and meet *Vaudemont*, Brother to the Duke of *Lorraine*, who was coming from *France*, being sent by that King to favour the Enterprize on the Kingdom of *Naples*, he caused him to be apprehended at *Bracciano*, and sent Prisoner to the Castle of *Sant' Angelo*.

King of
England
proposes
a Cessation
of Arms.

THE Pontiff was intent on providing Money, and on his supplicating the Princes he obtained of the King of *England* a fresh Supply of 30,000 Ducats, which were brought him by Master *Russel*, of his Bedchamber, accompanied by Monf. *Rabandanges*, with 10,000 Crowns sent him by the King of *France* on account of the Tenth, which the Pope, pressed by Necessity, had granted him, with a Promise that, besides the monthly Payments of the 40,000 Crowns to the League, and 20,000 to the Pope, he would give him 30,000 Ducats at present, and as much more within a Month. Master *Russel* had
also

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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also Orders from the King of *England* to A. D. 1527.
propose to the Viceroy and the Duke of *Bourbon* a Suspension of Arms, to give Time for the Treaty of Peace, which, in Compliance with *Cæsar's* Will, was held in *England*, and, in case of Refusal, to denounce War. That King, desirous of matching his Daughter to the King of *France*, seemed at that time inclined to favour the Confederates, and promised that, as soon as the Matrimony was concluded, he would enter into the League, and begin a War in *Flanders*. He appeared also mightily disposed to do good Offices to the Pontiff in particular; but no ready Assistance could be expected from a Prince who made no just Estimate of his own Strength, and of the present Circumstances of *Italy*, and also was not fixed in one determinate Will, being always withheld from coming to a Resolution by the Hopes given him from *Cæsar* of putting into his Hands the Negotiations of Peace; tho' the Effects were by no means answerable. For when the Auditor of the Chamber addressed him on that Head, tho' *Cæsar* used many Arts to persuade

P 2

him

A. D. 1527. him that this was his Intention, yet, as he expected to hear first what had happened in *Italy* in consequence of the Arrival of the *Germans* and of the Fleet, he gave no certain Answer, making Exceptions to the Commissions of the Confederates, as if they were not sufficient.

Pope's dubious and impolitic Conduct.

BUT the Pontiff, by his continual treating with the Viceroy about an Agreement, did himself a Prejudice with the Allies, who were every Hour apprehensive that he would make an Accommodation with him; and the King of *France* and the *Venetians* imagined that whatever they should expend for his Support would be in a manner useless. This Suspicion was increased by the extreme Fear which was apparent in him, and the daily Protestations of his Inability to sustain the War any longer, added to his Obstinacy in not suffering himself to be persuaded to create Cardinals for Money, and to assist himself in so great a Necessity, and in so great a Danger of the Church, by Methods which other Pontiffs had been accustomed to take even for carrying on am-

ambitious and unjust Enterprises. Wherefore the King and the *Venetians*, in order to be prepared for all Events, had entered into a particular and fresh Obligation to make no Agreement with *Cæſar* one without the other; ſo that the King, for this Reason, and becauſe of the great Hopes given him by the King of *England* of making conjointly with him, if they agreed about the Affinity, great Movements next Spring, became more negligent of the Dangers of *Italy*.

A. D.

1527.

AT this time the Viceroy haſtened the Preparations for attacking the State of the Church, and detached 2000 *Spaniſh* Foot to give an Aſſault to a ſmall Caſtle of *Stephen Colonna's*; but they were repulſed. He advanced however ſo briskly forwards, that the Eccleſiaſtics laid aſide their Intention of beſieging *Rocca di Papa*, the Garrifon of which Place had taken *Caſtel Gandolfo*, belonging to the Cardinal *di Monte*, which had but a weak Garrifon. At laſt the Viceroy, having aſſembled a Body of 12,000 Foot, of whom, except the *Spaniards* and *Germans*, brought over

A. D. 1527. by the Fleet, the greater Part were of the Militia, on the 21st of *January* laid Siege to *Frusolone*, a weak unwall'd Town, (tho' the private Houses and the Grotto served instead of a Wall) in which the Commanders of the Church had placed a Garrison, that they might leave him no Room for setting Foot in *Campagna*; and tho' the Place also was victualled but for a few Days, yet the Situation of the Town, which is built on a Hill, gave the Besieged always an Opportunity of saving themselves on one Side, as they had a small open Space behind their Backs, which made the Troops the bolder in its Defence, besides which they were some of the choicest of the *Italian* Infantry in Pay at that time. The Height of the Mountain also made it impracticable for the Enemy to approach their Artillery, of which they had planted three Pieces of Demicannon, and Four Demiculverins, so as to do considerable Damage to the Place; but their principal Care was to prevent, as far as they were able, the Entrance of Provisions into the Town.

A. D.

1527.

ON the other side, the Pontiff, tho' very much exhausted of Money, and more ready to bear the Indignity of begging Supplies of others, than the Indignity of providing himself by extraordinary Means, increased, as much as he could, his Forces, both with Troops in Pay, and with Militia; and had very lately taken into his Service *Oratio Baglione*, forgetting the Injuries he had done, first to his Father, and afterwards to *Oratio* himself, whom he had a long time kept Prisoner in the Castle of *Sant' Angelo*, as a Disturber of the Peace of *Perugia*. With these Reinforcements the Army of the Pontiff was continually drawing together near *Ferentino*, to put the Besieged in hopes of Relief. By the 24th a Breach was made in *Frusolone*, but it not being sufficient to give the Viceroy Hopes of Success, the Assault was deferred, tho' in carrying on the Works towards the Walls *Alarcone* was wounded with a Harquebus-Shot; *Mario Orsino* also received a Wound. The Viceroy grounded his principal Hopes on knowing

Besieged
make a
brave Re-
sistance.

A. D. that the Garrison laboured under a Scarcity of Provisions, as did also the Army that was assembling at *Ferentino*; for the *Colonnas* who were in *Palliano*, *Montefortino*, and *Rocca di Papa*, which were all the Places they held, scoured the Roads, and *Renzo* in his March to the Army had routed the Regiment of Foot of *Cuio*, that escorted the Provisions. One Day however there marched out of *Frusolone* Three Hundred Foot, and some Horse, with *Alessandro Vitello*, *Giovambattista Savello*, and *Pietro da Birago*, who advancing within half a Mile of *Larnata*, in which were quartered five Colours of *Spanish* Foot, drew two of them into an Ambush, and broke them, killing Captain *Peralta* and Eighty Men, and taking many Prisoners, with the two Colours. The Viceroy in the mean time was employed in working the Mines at *Frusolone*, and the Garrison in countermining them, being under so little Apprehension from the Enemy, that they refused a Reinforcement of Four Hundred Foot which the Generals of the Army would have thrown into the Place.

ALL this while however the Negotiations for an Agreement were carried on with no less Warmth; for the General of the *Franciscans*, and the Archbishop of *Capoua* were returned to *Rome*, accompanied with *Cesare Fieramosca*, a *Neapolitan*, whom *Cæsar* had, after the Departure of the Viceroy, dispatched from *Spain* to the Pontiff, with Orders to declare especially that he was very much concerned at the Entrance of Don *Ugo* and the *Colonnas* into *Rome*, and at the Consequences of that Step; to give him Assurances that *Cæsar* was very desirous to compound all Differences with him and to treat, in his Name, of Peace, which he seemed also inclined to make with the other Confederates, and said, as the Nuncio wrote, that if the Pontiff put in Execution, according to his Word, his Purpose of going to *Barcelona*, he would give him free Power to pronounce Peace at his own Discretion. These Deputies proposed, on the Part of the Viceroy, a Truce for two or three Years with the Pontiff and *Venetians*, each Party keeping what it at present possessed,

the

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A Truce
of eight
Days.

the Pontiff paying One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats, and the *Venetians* Fifty Thousand; which, tho' very hard upon the Pontiff, yet so ardent was his Desire to free himself from the Burden and Vexations of the War, that, to induce the *Venetians* to consent to the Truce, he offered to pay the Fifty Thousand Ducats. To expect their Answer, he made a Truce, on the last Day of *January*, with the Viceroy for eight Days, on condition that the Troops of the Church should not pass beyond *Ferentino*, nor those of the Viceroy beyond *Frusolone*, nor should carry on any Works against the Town, the Garrison likewise being prohibited to work on the Fortifications, or to introduce any Provisions into the Place, but only from Day to Day.

FIERAMOSCA now imagining that he had sufficiently discovered the Intentions of the Pontiff, and might make known those of the Emperor without Offence to his Dignity, presented him a long Letter, written with *Cæsar's* own Hand, full of a good Disposition, Offers, and Devotion to-
wards

wards the Pontiff. After this he departed, to give Notice to the Viceroy and the Legate of the Suspension agreed, and to take Care that it should be put in Execution, and arrived the same Day in the Army, which had moved from *Ferentino*, and was marching towards *Frusolone*. He there notified the Truce to the Legate, who, loth to interrupt the great Hopes which his Men had conceived of Victory, gave him fair Words, and sent secret Orders to the Troops to continue their March. The Army could not arrive at *Frusolone* before they made themselves Masters of a Pass, which is in nature of a Bridge, situate at the Foot of the first Hill of *Frusolone*, and guarded by four Colours of *German* Foot. But the Vanguard arriving under the Command of *Stefano Colonna*, and coming to an Engagement, broke them, and put them to Flight, killing about Two Hundred, and taking Four Hundred with the Colours. Having thus gained the first Hill, the rest of the Enemy retired to a stronger Post, leaving the Entrance into *Frusolone* free to the Ecclesiastics, who, Night approaching, took

A. D. took up their Quarters over against them ;
 1527. *Renzo* and *Vitello*, with whose Conduct in
 this Affair the Pontiff was not well pleased,
 being in great Hopes of giving them a De-
 feat, whether they stayed or retired,
 which, as it was believed, would infallibly
 have been the Consequence, had the
 Troops of the Church encamped on the
 Hill they had taken, or had been careful
 and vigilant to perceive the Retreat of the
 Enemy. For the Viceroy, not the next
 Day, but the Day after that, two Hours
 before Light, broke up, and marched off,
 without giving any Sign of his Decamp-
 ment, setting Fire to some Powder which
 he had remaining, and leaving behind
 him a great Quantity of Cannon Balls :
 And tho', as soon as his Departure was
 perceived, the Ecclesiastics dispatched their
 Light Horse in pursuit, which took some
 Baggage, and a few Prisoners of small Ac-
 count, yet they came too late to do any
 considerable Damage ; the Enemy how-
 ever left behind them some Part of their
 Provisions, and retired to *Cesano*, and from
 thence to *Cepperano*.

Siege of
Frusolone
 raised.

THE Pope, resuming Courage from the Retreat of the Enemy, and stimulated by the Ambassadors, who would not otherwise be satisfied, resolved to undertake the Enterprize against the Kingdom of *Naples*. For *Rabandanges*, who had brought Ten Thousand Ducats on account of the Tenth, and Ten Thousand on account of *Renzo*, had Orders not to distribute them without the Consent of *Alberto Pio*, *Renzo*, and *Monf. de Lange*, which they were not to give unless they could assure themselves that the Pontiff would make no Agreement. And the *Venetians*, to whom Master *Russel* was gone to induce them to accept the Peace proposed by the Viceroy, and approved by the Pope, but, breaking his Leg on the Road, had sent forward the Dispatch, answered that they would make no Truce without the Consent of the King of *France*; and they were the more encouraged in this Resolution by knowing that *Genoa* was reduced to very great Extremities for Want of Provisions. The Pope resolves to attack the Kingdom of *Naples* with an Army by *sea*.
Land,

A. D.
1527.

Land, while the Fleet with *Vaudemont*, who had raised Two Thousand Foot, should act against it by Sea. But *Renzo*, at whose Discretion the Money of the King of *France* was expended, resolved, contrary to the Will of the Pontiff, who was of Opinion that the whole Force should be employed in the same Place, to cause Six Thousand Men to enter the *Abruzzi*, in hopes that by means of the Sons of the Count *di Montorio*, who were sent thither with Two Thousand Men, he might easily get Possession of *Aquila*; and the Attempt soon succeeded, for *Ascanio Colonna*, on the first Advice of their Approach, abandoned the City with Precipitation. The Beginnings of this Enterprize were very hopeful and flattering; for tho' the Viceroy put Garrisons in the neighbouring Places, and did his utmost to remedy the Disorder, yet Part of his Army being disbanded, and others of necessity distributed into the Towns for their Preservation, it was believed that he would remain engaged in resisting the Land Army, and that *Renzo* in the *Abruzzi*, and the Fleet of the Church and *Venetians*, which

Aquila
taken by
the Eccle-
siastics.

which consisted of Two and Twenty Gallies, would find no Opposition, especially since they carried an additional Supply of Three Thousand Foot, and had on board *Oratio* with Two Thousand Foot, and the Person of *Vaudemont*, who, by the antient Right of King *René*, pretended to the Succession of that Kingdom, and to whom the Pontiff had given the Title of his Lieutenant.

BUT the Affair proceeded with the greater Slowness because the Ecclesiastic Army had not as yet, on the twelfth Day of *January*, decamped from *Frusolone*, expecting the heavy Artillery from *Rome*, and to hear of the Entrance of *Renzo* into the *Abruzzi*, and the Arrival of the Fleet. What caused some Hindrance also, and Loss of Time, was a Mutiny of the Troops in *Frusolone*, who demanded the Pay due to them for the Victory. However on the eighteenth the Troops of the Viceroy abandoned *Cesano*, and other circumjacent Villages, and retired to *Cepperano*. On their Retreat the Ecclesiastic Army, which began to suffer for want of Provisions, passed

A. D. 1527. passed *San Germano*, and the Viceroy, in Pain for the Event of Affairs, retired to *Gaeta*, and Don *Ugo* to *Naples*. The Pontiff, however, labouring under a great Want of Money, and Apprehensions of the Coming forwards of the Duke of *Bourbon*, to whose Army he did not see the Confederates in a Readiness to make Resistance, and continuing in the same Inclination to an Agreement with *Cæsar*, had procured that Master *Ruffel* should go to the Viceroy with a Commission from his King, which gave Occasion to the Return of *Cesare Fieramosca* to *Rome*, on the 21st of *February*, where he opened his Instructions, and departed the next Day, leaving the Pontiff in great Confusion and Irresolution of Mind. But to prevent his precipitating himself into an Agreement the *Venetians*, in the Beginning of *March*, offered to pay him, within Fifteen Days, Fifteen Thousand Ducats, and the like Sum in Fifteen Days more, having obtained of him the Jubilee for their Dominions.

— BUT

BUT the Fleet of the Pope and *Venetians*, which, to the great Detriment of the Undertaking, had remained unactive in Expectation of the *French* Squadron, and, on the 23d of *February*, had been forced by contrary Winds to the Isle of *Ponzo*, since advanced forwards, and plundered the Mole of *Gaeta*, and afterwards, on the Fourth of *March*, landed some Foot at *Pozzuolo*, but finding the Place well provided put off again to Sea. After this, proceeding forwards, they made a Descent by the River of *Castello a Mare di Stabbia* near *Naples*, where *Diomede Caraffa* had posted himself with Five Hundred Foot, and on the Third of *March*, attacking the Place by the Way of the Mountain, they carried the Town by Storm, and plundered it, and the next Day the Castle surrendered. On the Tenth they stormed and took *Torre del Greco*, after which *Sorrente*, and many other Towns on that Coast surrendered on Articles. The Fleet had before taken some Ships laden with Corn, by which *Naples*, where but slender Provision was made of that Commodity, suffered sufficiently,

A. D. ^{1527.} ficiently, meeting with no Opposition by Sea; and, on the Second Day of *Lent*, they approached so near the Mole that the Castle and Gallies fired upon them, and before this the Troops by Land had advanced so forwards that the People of *Naples* were forced to retire through the Gate of the Market, and to shut it. After this the Fleet took *Salerno*, and *Vaudemont* being gone with it after certain Ships, leaving *Oratio* with Four Gallies at *Salerno*, the Prince of *Salerno* with a great Multitude of Troops entered the Town by way of the Castle, but was routed by *Oratio*, above Two Hundred of his Men killed, and a good Number taken Prisoners. In the *Abruzzi* the old Count *di Montorio*, being delivered out of Prison by the Viceroy, that he might recover *Aquila*, was made a Prisoner by his Sons; and *Renzo* on the 6th of *March*, after taking *Siciliano* and *Tagliacozzo*, marched towards *Sora*. And yet, in so fair an Opportunity, the Land Army, either through the Negligence of the Ministers, or the bad Provision made by the Pontiff, was reduced to such

such a Scarcity of Victuals, that on the 5th of *March* they began to disband.

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BUT the Negotiations of Peace being continually kept on Foot, in spite of these Hostilities, *Fieramosca*, and *Serenon*, Secretary to the Viceroy, on the Tenth Day of *March*, came to *Rome*, where the Day before was arrived *M. de Lange*, with Plenty of fair Speeches and Promises, but without Money, tho' it had been signified from *France*, that he had set out with Twenty Thousand Ducats for putting Troops on board a Fleet of large Ships which was expected from *Civita Vecchia*, and with Twenty Thousand more to be brought to the Pontiff, whom *Lange* encouraged to undertake this Enterprize against the Kingdom of *Naples*, for one of the Sons of the King of *France*, who was to take in Marriage *Caterina* Daughter of *Lorenzo de' Medici*, and Niece to the Pontiff. For the King confiding in the Negotiation with *England*, and persuading himself that the Viceroy, by the Loss and Disorder received at *Frusolone*, was in no Condition to bring any Thing to Effect, and

A. D. 1527. that the Imperial Army, after so long delaying to move, and being also without Money, gave no Grounds for further Apprehensions of their March into *Tuscany*, would hear no more of a Truce, tho' it should comprehend all Parties, and excuse him from paying Money, that he might not give Time to *Cæsar* to re-establish his Affairs. And yet, finding himself without Money, he had sent no more than Ten Thousand Ducats of the Twenty Thousand he had promised the Pontiff for every Month, and of the Money arising from the Tenth; nor had he as yet, on the Seventh of *March*, remitted the Money for the Troops to be put on board the Fleet of large Ships, the Charges of which were to be defrayed in common by him and the *Venetians*; and, since he was not inclined to make any Motion till he had settled Matters with the King of *England*, he thought it but reasonable that the Pontiff should wait till that Time.

King of
France
refuses a
Truce.

Enterprise on *Naples* slackened. THE Enterprise therefore against the Kingdom of *Naples*, which had so hopeful a Beginning, was every Day prosecuted with

with less Vigour. For the Fleet not being reinforced with new Ships nor Men, and being obliged to garrison the conquered Places, could make but little Progress; and the Army by Land, which had not, on the 14th of *March*, received the Provisions sent from *Rome* by Sea, by reason of the bad Weather, being not only disabled from advancing forwards, but diminished and distressed for want of Food, retired at last to *Piperno*; and the Troops under *Renzo* were lessened in their Numbers for want of Pay, so as that General finding it impracticable to inclose the Viceroy between the two Armies, as the Design had been laid, returned to *Rome*. These Disorders were increased by the close Application of the Pontiff to the Treaty for an Agreement, by which he weakened the Hands of the Confederates, remiss enough of themselves, and caused a Slackness in their Preparations, which on the other hand augmented his Desire of an Accommodation. And he entertained good Hopes of the pacific Disposition of *Cæsar* from an intercepted Letter of his, in which he charged the Viceroy to solli-

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A. D. 1527. cit an Agreement with the Pontiff, unless the Situation of Affairs required him to take other Measures.

BUT what most quickened the Pontiff to an Accommodation arose from his perceiving that *Bourbon* with the Imperial Army continually advanced forwards, and that neither the Resolutions of the Duke of *Urbino*, nor the Preparations of the *Venetians* were of such Consideration as to render him secure of the Affairs of *Tuscany*, the Concern about which afflicted him beyond measure. For the Duke of *Urbino*, while the Imperialists continued in their Quarters partly on this Side, partly beyond *Piacenza*, changing his first Resolution of being at *Bologna* with the *Venetian* Army before them, had determined in his Counsels that, as soon as it was known that the Enemy had moved, the Ecclesiastic Army, leaving good Garrisons in *Parma* and *Modena*, should march for *Bologna*, and that he himself with the Forces of the *Venetians* should march at the Back of the Enemy, but always at the Distance of Twenty or Thirty Miles, for Security of the Troops,

in

Duke of
Urbino's
Counsels
on re-
straining
Bourbon.

in which Order, if the Enemy should afterwards take the Road of *Romagna* or of *Tuscany*, he would continually proceed, while the Ecclesiastic Army with the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, attended by the *French* Lances and his own Foot, and the *Swiss*, always marched before them, still leaving Garrisons in the Towns by which the Enemy would be obliged to pass after them, and drawing them out, Place after Place, in Order as the Enemies passed. For this Counsel of his, which the other Generals did not well comprehend, he alledged several Reasons: As, first, that it was not advisable to oppose with the united Armies in the open Field the Passage of the Imperialists, because it was either dangerous or useless; dangerous, because, if they should come to a Battle, the Enemy being superior in Strength and Valour, if not in Number, would obtain the Victory; useless, because if the Imperialists should avoid a Battle, it would be in their Power to leave the Army of the Confederates behind them, and, being ever afterwards advanced before them, would, wherever they came, make very great Progresses: That this Resolution

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solution appeared to him the best that could be taken, supposing Things were in his Power ; but that he was constrained by Necessity to take no other, because the hostile Army being already, as it was believed, upon putting themselves in Motion, his Troops were not so readily provided as that he could be certain of having Time enough to get before them ; and, besides, it was his Duty to consider, since the *Venetians* had freely referred the Determination of this Point to his own Discretion, how to avoid endangering their State, which if the Enemy should perceive to be unprovided, they might from new Opportunities take new Counsels, and passing the *Po* carry the Seat of War into their Territories, to their infinite Loss and Damage.

Censured.

By these Reasons he convinced the *Venetian* Senate, by Nature inclined to proceed with Caution and Secresy in their own Affairs, but by no means satisfied the Pontiff, who considered that by this Counsel a Way was opened for the Imperial Army to proceed as far as *Rome*, or into *Tuscany*, or wherever it pleased. For the Army which was to go before it, being inferior in Force, and continually diminishing by the

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the Garrisons which it was obliged to place in the Towns, could be in no Condition to make Resistance; nor was it certain that the *Venetians*, once left behind, would be so ready to follow the Enemy in Fact, as the Speeches of the Duke implied, especially to those who considered the Manner of their Proceeding during the whole Course of the War, and judged that all the Forces united together, which would make an Army much greater than that of the Imperialists, might with more Ease prevent them from passing forwards, intercept their Provisions, and make use of all Opportunities that might offer; nor would they ever have Occasion to be so far distant from the Enemy, as not to have Time enough to come with their Assistance if they turned their Arms against the *Venetian* Dominions.

THE Pontiff was much more displeased with the Resolution, when he understood that the Duke of *Urbino*, who on the Third Day of *January* was come to *Parma*, had, on the Attack of a slight Disorder, retired on the Fourteenth to *Casal maggiore*,

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maggiore, and from thence, Five Days after, under Pretence of taking Care of himself, to *Gazzuolo*, where being relieved from his Fever, but laid up, as he said, with the Gout, he had sent for his Wife. Those who were willing to put the best Construction on this Conduct, which was greatly mistrusted by the Pontiff, have endeavoured to prove that the Negotiations of Agreement were the Cause of the Duke's proceeding with this Suspension: But the Lieutenant comprehending, partly from what appeared probable, partly from Relation of Words spoken by him, that he was also induced to take these wrong Measures from a Desire to recover *Montefeltro*, and *San Leo*, which were in the Hands of the *Florentines*, and judging that if he were not satisfied on this Head the Pontiff and *Florentines* might be abandoned by him in their greatest Necessity, it appearing also to him that these Towns were not worth the exposing of themselves to so great a Danger, and as he knew besides that the same was desired at *Florence*, gave him Assurances of the Restitution, as if he had received Orders from the Pontiff

Cause of
the Duke's
Remission.

Pontiff so to do, tho' this Step was not approved by the Pontiff, who, in this Case, indulged his old and new Hatred more than Reason.

IN the mean time the Imperialists, having distributed a very small Sum of Money among the *Germans*, kept themselves encamped near *Piacenza*, in which was Count *Guido Rangone* with Six Thousand Foot. From this City *Paolo Luzasco*, and some other Light Horse of the Church, sometimes made Excursions, and one Day being accompanied by a certain Number of Foot, and some Men at Arms, routed a Party of the Enemy on an Excursion, and took Eighty Horse and One Hundred Foot, among them the Captains *Scalengo*, *Zuccherò*, and *Grugno Borgognone*. *Bourbon* after this sent ten Companies of *Spaniards* to put Provisions into *Pizzichitone*; and a little after Count *Gajazzo*, with some Light Horse and his own Foot, came to take up his Quarters in *Borgo San Donnino*, which was abandoned by the Ecclesiastics; and the next Day, in consequence of a Treaty held with him

A. D. 1527. *Count Gajazzo* deserts to the Confederates. him before, and also under a Pretence that he was disengaged from the Imperialists because he was not paid, he passed over to the Ecclesiastic Camp, and was taken into Pay by the Lieutenant, rather to satisfy others, than following his own Judgment, with Twelve Hundred Foot, and One Hundred and Thirty Light Horse, whom he had brought with him, on Condition that, if *Cæsar* deprived him of his County of *Gajazzo*, the Pontiff should, after eight Months, pay him an equivalent yearly Revenue till he had recovered it.

BOURBON, pursuant to the Counsel of the Duke of *Ferrara*, who yet refused to march in the Army, was rather desirous to march for *Bologna* and *Florence*, than to make any Stop at those Towns; but on the Seventeenth the *Spanish* Foot mutinied, demanded Money, and killed the Serjeant Major whom *Bourbon* had sent to appease them. However he quieted the Tumult as well as he could, and on the Twentieth passed the *Trebbia* with the whole Army, and encamped three Miles from *Piacenza*, having with him Five Hundred

Hundred Men at Arms, a good Number ^{A. D.} of Light Horſe, for the moſt Part *Italians*, ^{1527.} but never paid, the *German* Foot newly arrived, Four or Five Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, choice Troops, and about Two Thouſand *Italian* Foot, lately diſbanded, and not in Pay. As for the Remains of the old *Germans*, Part of them continued in *Milan*, and the reſt were marched towards *Savona*, to favour the Enterpriſe on *Genoa*, which was reduced to great Straits. Wonderful indeed was the Reſolution of *Bourbon*, and of that Army, which finding itſelf without Money, without Stores, without Pioneers, without Orders for Convoys of Proviſions, ventured to put themſelves on paſſing forwards between ſo many hoſtile Towns, and againſt an Enemy much more numerous than themſelves. And much more to be admired ſtill was the Conſtancy of the *Germans*, who having marched out of their Country with only a ſingle Ducat each Man, and ſuffered ſo long in *Italy* a hard Subſiſtence under a ſcanty Pay, having received, during all that Time, no more than two or three Ducats a Head, chearfully betook themſelves,

contrary

contrary to the Custom of all Soldiers, and especially of their Nation, to march forwards, having no other Recompence or Expectation than the Hopes of Victory, tho' it was manifestly known to all that their Stores of Provision were very short, and that, being in the Neighbourhood of Enemies, they could not live without Money. But what supported their Hopes, and lengthened out their Patience was the great Authority of their General *George*, who had gained their entire Confidence, and proposed *Rome* and the greatest Part of *Italy* for their Prey.

THE Imperialists on the 22d advanced to *Borgo San Donnino*, and the next Day the Marquis of *Saluzzo* with the Ecclesiastic Troops, to the Number of between Eleven and Twelve Thousand Men, leaving some *Venetian* Foot in Garrison at *Parma*, set out from that City on his March for *Bologna*, after he had left Orders for Count *Guido* to remove from *Piacenza* to *Modena*, and the Infantry of the Black Bands to *Bologna*, leaving a sufficient Garrison in *Piacenza*. Thus the Marquis,

Marquis, taking his Way through the *Reggian*, in four Encampments, arrived between *Anzuola* and *Ponte a Reno*, at which time *Bourbon* was about *Reggio*. And the Duke of *Urbino*, who had rejected as useless the Proposal which the Lieutenant made to him at *Casal maggiore*, for augmenting the Number of the *Swiss*, was now instant with him to propose at *Rome* and *Venice* a new Levy of Four Thousand *Swiss*, and Two Thousand *Germans*, excusing his Opposition at that Time, because the Season would not permit taking the Field, and he had imagined that the Enemies, whom he promised with this Augmentation to approach, would first break up and disperse: A Counsel despised by every Body, because such slow Remedies could afford no manner of Relief in the present Dangers, and he might also assure himself that his Proposal was impossible to be put in Execution, through the Difficulty of Money, and the disunited Counsels of the Confederates.

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Marquis
of Saluzzo
secures
Bologna.

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Duke of
Milan in
Action.

AT this time the Duke of *Milan*, who had assembled Three Thousand Foot, and secured *Lodi* and *Cremona*, with all the Country beyond the *Adda*, and made Incursions into the *Milanese*, surpris'd the Town of *Moncia*; but his Men soon abandoned it, on Advice that *Antonio da Leva*, who had accompanied *Bourbon*, was returning to *Milan*, and had taken that Way, bringing with him, as it was said, Two Thousand *German* veteran Foot, Fifteen Hundred newly levied, with One Thousand *Spanish* and Five Thousand *Italian* Foot, under several different Commanders.

Motions
of *Bour-*
bon.

BUT *Bourbon*, after passing the *Secchia*, took the Road on the Left, and on the Fifth of *March* arriv'd at *Buonporto*, where he left the Army, and went to *Finale*, to confer with the Duke of *Ferrara*, who perswaded him by all means to lay aside all other Projects, and to march directly for *Florence* or *Rome*; nay, it is believed that he advis'd him to let alone every other Enterprize, and to take his March
towards

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towards *Rome*. In this Resolution the Duke of *Bourbon* had many Difficulties that tormented his Mind, and especially the Fear that the Army, after it was conducted into the Territory of *Rome*, would, either out of Necessity, or a Desire of Refreshment, or from some Difficulties that it might encounter, which it would be sure to meet with if the Pontiff should not be disarmed, take up its Quarters in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

ON the same Day the Troops of the *Venetians* passed the *Po*, without the Permission of the Duke of *Urbino*, who, tho' recovered, remained still at *Gazzuolo*, but with an Intention to set out very soon.

ON the Seventh *Bourbon* encamped at *San Giovanni*, in the *Bolognese*, whence he sent a Trumpet to *Bologna*, whither the Ecclesiastic Troops had retired, to demand Provisions, saying that his Intention was to march to the Relief of the Kingdom of *Naples*: And the same Day he was joined by the *Spaniards* who were in *Carpi*, which Town was put into the Possession

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of the Duke of *Ferrara*. The Forces of the *Venetians* were on the Banks of the *Secchia*, resolved to pass no further till they had Advice of the Departure of *Bourbon* from *San Giovanni*, where he received his Provisions from the *Ferrarese*; but when they came to be paid for, the Troops, having little or no Money, were obliged to enlarge their Quarters for procuring Subsistence, and scoured all the Country, preying upon Men and Beasts, which was the Method they took to pay for their Provisions. Hence it most undeniably appears that, if they had met with a powerful Opposition, or if the Ecclesiastic Army, which was in and about *Bologna*, had been able to encamp in their Neighbourhood, the Imperialists would have been reduced to great Straits; for, by continuing to quarter thus at large they would have been exposed to great Danger, and, by contracting their Quarters, they must have been destitute of the Means for providing Food.

BUT among the Troops which were in *Bologna* were many Disorders, both from the

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the Qualifications of the Marquis, who was fitter to break a Lance than to discharge the Office of a General, and because the *Swiss* and his own Foot were not paid by the *Venetians* at due Times; which were the Causes of their losing a very fair Opportunity.

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Character
of the
Marquis
of Saluzzo.
20.

IN the mean time *Bourbon*, to enable himself to proceed forwards, was intent on furnishing himself from *Ferrara* with Provisions for several Days, with warlike Stores, and with Pioneers and Oxen, having brought with him thus far four Pieces of Cannon; and, tho' he gave various Signs of his Intentions, it was believed for certain that his Design was to pass into *Tuscany* by the Way of *Saffo*; and the same was confirmed by *Geronimo Morone*, who had for many Days held a private Correspondence with the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, tho', in the Opinion of many, dissembling and fraudulent. But the fourteenth of *March* being appointed for the Troops to leave their Quarters, on which Occasion the four Cannon were sent back to *Bondino*, on the Day before the *German*

A. D. Foot, deluded with various Promises of
 1527. Payment, and followed afterwards by the
 A Mutiny *Spanish* Foot, crying out Money! muti-
 in *Bour-* nished with a very great Tumult, in which
bon's Ar-
 my.

Bourbon was in no small Danger of his Life, if he had not taken Care privately to fly out of his Quarters, which the Mutineers plundered, and killed one of his Gentlemen. On this Occasion the Marquis *del Guasto* immediately repaired to *Ferrara*, whence he returned with a Sum of Money, which, tho' but small, served to quiet the Army. On the Seventeenth fell a vast Quantity of Snow and Rain, so that it was impossible, from the Swelling of the Rivers, and the Badness of the Roads, for the Army to proceed for some Days : And General *George* was seized with an Apoplectic Fit, which reduced him to the Point of Death ; whence it was expected, tho' with greater Hopes than was answered by future Success, that, this Commander being rendered at least unfit for following the Camp, the *German* Foot would, by his Departure, be disheartened, and incapable any longer to support the Inconveniencies, and the Want of Money.

AT

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1527.

AT this Time the *Venetian* Forces were at *San Faustino*, near *Rubiera*, where, on the Eighteenth Day of *March*, arrived the Duke of *Urbino*, promising, according to his Custom, the *Venetian* Senate a certain Victory, not however by the Valour of the Confederate Arms, but from the Difficulties of the Enemy.

THE Pontiff, in this threatening Situation of his Affairs on every Quarter, was dejected for want of Money, dispirited by the Miscarriage of the Enterprize, according to his first Designs, on the Kingdom of *Naples*, his Troops, for want of Provisions, being retired to *Piperno*, and disheartened because the Preparations of the *French*, most ample in Words, became every Day more scanty in Effects, as they had ever been from first to last during the whole Course of the War. For, besides the Slowness of the King in sending the Forty Thousand Ducats the first Month of the War, in dispatching the Five Hundred Lances, and fitting out the Fleet ; besides

Pontiff ill
used by
the King
of *France*.

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1527.

his declining to open a War, as he was obliged, on the other side the Mountains, which was designed as one of the principal Means for obtaining the Victory, he also failed of fulfilling his daily Promises. He had promised to pay the Pontiff, besides the ordinary Contributions, Forty Thousand Ducats each Month, for opening the War in the Kingdom of *Naples*; and a Truce afterwards happening, occasioned by the Insult from Don *Ugo* and the *Colonnas*, he had persuaded him not to observe it, and confirmed anew the same Promise, that he might serve himself of the Money either for the War of *Naples*, or for his own Defence; and had further engaged his Word to send unto him *Renzo da Ceri*, who was in great Reputation with the King on account of the Defence of *Marseilles*. All these Things, tho' promised in *October*, were so long delayed by their Slowness, that *Renzo* did not arrive at *Rome* till the Fourteenth of *January*, and then without Money; and ten Days after arrived Twenty Thousand Ducats, of which *Renzo* kept Four Thousand for his Pension and private Expences, and

Ten

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Ten Thousand for the Enterprife on the *Abruzzi*, so that only Six Thousand Ducats came to the Hands of the Pontiff, who relying on these Promises had about three Months before broken the Truce. The King promised to pay him, for the Grant of the Tenths, within eight Days, Twenty-five Thousand Crowns, and Thirty-five Thousand more within two Months; but of these the Pontiff received no more than the Nine Thousand of the Money brought by *Rabandanges*. *Paolo d' Arezzo* took his Leave of the King of *France* on the Twelfth of *February*, having, for the better Encouragement of the War, received from the King a Promise of Twenty Thousand Ducats, besides the forementioned Sums, which, being sent after *M. de Lange*, never passed beyond *Savona*. The King was obliged by the Articles of the Confederacy to send Twelve Light Gallies; he said he had sent Sixteen, but they lay for the most part of the Time so ill provided, and so destitute of Men fit to put ashore, that they never stirred from *Savona*; whereas if in the Beginning, when the War was opened against the Kingdom

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A. D. 1527. of *Naples*; they had immediately joined the Pontiff and *Venetians*, they would, according to the common Opinion, have made a considerable Progress. The Fleet of large Ships, certainly very powerful, tho' often promised to be sent towards the Kingdom of *Naples*, yet, whatever might be the Cause, never went beyond the Coast of *Provence*, or *Savona*; and, after the King had concurred in giving two Pays to the Foot of the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, he agreed with the *Venetians*, who kept on Foot a lesser Number of Troops than their Engagements required, that their Payment should be made out of the Contribution of the Forty Thousand Ducats. The Engagements and Assistance of the King of *England*, were at too great a Distance, and too uncertain. He saw that the *Venetians* were slow in the Payment of the Troops, on which account *Saluzzo's* Foot, and the *Swiss*, who were quartered in *Bologna*, were in a manner of no Service. He was terrified at the Variations and Manner of Proceeding of the Duke of *Urbino*, by which he was sensible that the Imperialists would find no
Obstacle

Obstacle to obstruct their Passage into *Tuscany*, where, from the evil Disposition of the *Florentine* People, and the Adherents of the *Cæsareans* in the City of *Siena*, he had Reason to apprehend the State of *Florence*, and also that of the Church to be in very great Danger.

FOR these Reasons the Pontiff, after much Debate with himself, and Fluctuation of Mind, tho' he knew how pernicious and dangerous it was to separate himself from his Allies, and to put himself in the Power of the Enemy, yet not receiving sufficient Assistance from others, nor willing to seek Assistance from himself as much as he might have done, but his present Fears prevailing over him, and wanting Spirits to make Resistance against Difficulties and Dangers, resolved to come to an Agreement with *Fieramosca* and *Serenon*, who were in *Rome*, with a Commission from the Viceroy for that Purpose, on a Suspension of Arms for eight Months, on Condition of paying to the Imperial Army Sixty Thousand Ducats; that what ever had been taken from the Church and

Pope
agrees to
a Truce
on Condi-
tions.
the

A. D.

1527

the Kingdom of *Naples*, and from the *Colonnas*, should be restored; and that *Pompeo Colonna* should be re-established in the Dignity of the Cardinalship, with Absolution from Censures, which was the hardest Condition of all to the Pontiff, and to which he condescended with the greatest Difficulty. The King of *France* and the *Venetians* were at Liberty, within a certain Time, to enter into this Agreement, in which Case the *German* Foot were to depart out of *Italy*, and if they did not accede, then the *Germans* were to evacuate the State of the Church, and also that of *Florence*; that the Pontiff should pay Forty Thousand Ducats on the Twenty-second Instant, and the rest before the Expiration of the Month; and that the Viceroy should come to *Rome*. This last appeared to the Pope as it were the only Means to secure himself of the Observance of *Bourbon*, of which he was also put in Hopes by a Letter of *Bourbon* to the Viceroy, which had been intercepted by the Lieutenant, in which he informed him of the Difficulties in which he found himself involved, and advised him to
come

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come to an Agreement with the Pontiff, A. D. 1527.
 if it might be consistent with the Honour of *Cæsar*. In consequence of this Agreement all the Troops were immediately recalled on both Sides, as well as the Fleets, and the Towns were restored, the Pontiff on his Part proceeding *bona fide* in the Observance of the Treaty, though he had at that Time a great Superiority in the Kingdom of *Naples*. But in *Aquila* the Sons of the Count of *Montorio*, not knowing how to secure themselves otherwise, set at Liberty their Father, who immediately, with the Favour of the Imperial Party, drove away his Sons and those of the opposite Faction.

THE Viceroy afterwards arrived at *Rome*, by whose Coming the Pontiff, A fatal Step of the Pontiff; imagining himself wholly secured of the Observance of the Convention, very impolitically disbanded all the Troops that were in his Pay in the different Quarters of *Rome*, except an Hundred Light Horse, and Two Thousand Foot of the Black Bands, being the more encouraged to make this Step by persuading himself that
 the

A. D. the Duke of *Bourbon* was inclined to an Agreement by the Difficulties he found in prosecuting the War, because he had always pretended to him that he desired it.

Bourbon
and the
Army re-
ject the
Truce.

BUT Affairs about *Bologna* took a very different Course; for the Pontiff, as soon as the Truce was ratified, having dispatched *Cesare Fieramosca* to *Bourbon*, that he might give his Approbation of the Agreement, and, on the Receipt of the Money, remove the Army out of the Territory of the Church, met with infinite Difficulties in *Bourbon*, and especially in the Soldiers, who appeared obstinately bent to continue the War, either because they fed themselves with Hopes of vast Gains, or because the Money promised by the Pontiff was not sufficient to discharge two Pays; and therefore many believed that, if the Sum had been augmented to an Hundred Thousand Ducats, the Truce would have been readily accepted. Whatever might be the Cause, it is certain that the Soldiers did not desist from ravaging the *Bolognese*, and shewing all the Marks of Enemies, as much after the Coming of *Fieramosca* as they

they did before: And yet *Bourbon*, who *A. D.*
 was at work on levelling the Roads, and ^{1527.}
Fieramosca gave Hopes to the Lieutenant
 that, in spite of all Difficulties, the Army
 would accept the Truce; *Bourbon* affirm-
 ing that he was necessitated to make these
 Levellings, in order to amuse the Soldiers
 with Hopes of proceeding forwards, till he
 had induced them to comply with his De-
 sire, which was to preserve the Friendship
 of the Pontiff; though, at the same time,
 were coming to the Army Supplies of
 Meal, Pioneers, Waggon, Powder, and
 other Stores, by Order of the Duke of
Ferrara, who afterwards boasted that nei-
 ther the Money that he gave them, nor
 all these Assistances exceeded the Value of
 Sixty Thousand Ducats. And, on the
 other side, the Duke of *Urbino*, pre-
 tending to be apprehensive that this
 Army, after accepting the Truce, would
 fall upon the Polesine of *Rovigo*, withdrew
 the *Venetian* Troops from beyond the *Po*
 to *Casal maggiore*.

THINGS stood thus in Suspense Eight
 Days: At last *Bourbon*, either because it
 had

A. D. 1527. had been always his Intention, or because it was not in his Power to command the Army, wrote to the Lieutenant, that he was constrained by Necessity, since he could not reduce the Soldiers to a Compliance with his Will, to march forwards. Putting therefore his Design in Execution, he proceeded the next Day, which was the last of *March*, and encamped at *Ponte a Reno*, with so great Ardor of the Infantry, that a Person, sent from the Viceroy to solicit *Bourbon* to accept the Truce, as he was entering the Camp, would have been killed by the *Spaniards* if he had not fled. But they shewed greater Marks of Resentment against the Marquis *del Guasto*, who having left the Army in order to retire into the Kingdom of *Naples*, induced either by Indisposition of Body, or because he would not contravene, as he wrote to the Lieutenant, the Will of *Cæsar*, as did the rest, or by some other Reason, was by the Army proclaimed a Rebel.

FROM the Coming of the Duke of *Bourbon* to *Ponte a Reno* the Marquis of *Saluzzo* and the Lieutenant, assuring themselves

selves that the Enemies were on their A. D.
 March towards *Romagna*, left Part of 1527.
 the *Italian* Infantry for the Security of
Bologna, and set out the same Night with
 the rest of the Army for *Forli*, not with-
 out Difficulty in conducting the *Swiss*,
 for the Payment of whom the Lieute-
 nant was under a Necessity of lending
Giovanni Vitturio Ten Thousand Ducats.
 They entered *Forli* the Third of *April*,
 leaving in *Imola* a Garrison sufficient for
 its Defence. On the Fifth *Bourbon* passed
 under the Walls of *Imola*, in order to en-
 camp lower on the high Road.

BUT as soon as certain Advice came to
Rome that *Bourbon* had not accepted the
 Truce, the Viceroy seeming vastly un-
 easy, and persuading himself that, accord-
 ing to his first Advices, the Refusal pro-
 ceeded from the Necessity of a greater
 Sum of Money, dispatched one of his
 Gentlemen with a further Offer of Twen-
 ty Thousand Ducats, which were to be
 paid out of the Revenues of *Naples*. But
 understanding afterwards that his Messenger
 had been in Danger, he set out on the
 Third

A. D. Third of *April* from *Rome*, to confer
 1527. with *Bourbon*, having promised the Pon-
 Fallacious tiff that he would constrain him to accept
 Promises of the the Truce, if by no other Means, yet by
 Viceroy. separating from him the Men at Arms,
 and the greater Part of the *Spanish* In-
 fantry. But arriving in Six Days at *Flo-*
rence, he stayed there to treat with some
 Persons sent by *Bourbon*, as in a more
 convenient Place, it being now certain
 that the Army could not be stopped with-
 out paying them a much greater Sum of
 Money, which must be procured from
 the *Florentines*, on whom the Pontiff had
 left the whole Charge of providing it.

THESE Variations highly augmented
 the Difficulties and Dangers of the Pon-
 tiff, and had indeed increased them for
 many Days past. For in the Uncertainty
 of the Resolutions of the Duke of *Bour-*
bon, and of the Result of the Coming of
 the Viceroy, he was under a Necessity of
 Assistance from the Allies, who grew cool
 and remiss from his Actions, notwith-
 standing the Sollicitations and Remon-
 strances of his Lieutenant stimulating
 them

them to the contrary. For the Pontiff in all his Speeches, and other outward Marks of his Inclination, manifested the most eager Desire of an Agreement, and the great Hopes he entertained that by the Help of the Vice-roy it would succeed; and the Lieutenant, on the other hand, comprehending, by many Signs, that the Hopes of the Pontiff were vain, and knowing that the slow and languid Provisions of the Confederates exposed the Affairs of *Florence* and of *Rome* to most manifest Danger, made the most earnest Instances with the Marquis of *Saluzzo* and the *Venetians* to persuade them that the Agreement would not take Effect, and to exhort them, if not for the Sake of others, yet, at least, for their own Interest, not to abandon the Concerns of the Pontiff, and of *Tuscany*; not dissimbling, in order to gain the greater Credit, that the Pope, not knowing the open Frauds of the Imperialists, ardently expected it; and representing that though, by giving him Assistance, they should obtain nothing more than only rendering the Conditions of an Agreement easy to him, it would redound to their very great Bene-

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Lieutenant solicits the Allies to assist the Pope.

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fit; because the Pope, if assisted by them, would agree, for himself and the *Florentines*, on Conditions which would be of little Detriment to the League; but, if abandoned, would of Necessity be constrained to oblige himself to give the Imperialists a very large Sum of Money, and some considerable Monthly Contribution, to maintain those Arms which would afterwards be employed in a War against themselves; for which Reason they ought, if they would not do themselves a Mischief, whenever *Bourbon* should put himself in Motion to attack *Tuscany*, to move also with all their Forces to defend it.

THE Marquis of *Saluzzo* was much perplexed on coming to a Resolution in this Affair, but the *Venetians* were in much greater Perplexity; for as the Pusillanimity of the Pontiff was manifest to all, they assured themselves that, even after obtaining fresh Assistance from them, he would embrace an Agreement whenever he could obtain it, without any Regard to the Confederates; and therefore they thought themselves solicited to take a Step quite new

new in Politics, by assisting him to render *A. D.*
 easy his Convention with the common *1527.*
 Enemy. They considered that to abandon him might be the Cause of greater Prejudice to the common Concerns, but they judged it would be exposing their Troops to manifest Danger between the *Appennine* and the Enemy, and in a Country that was already become disaffected to them, if the Pontiff should, while they were in *Tuscany*, confirm the Agreement, or make a new one. A Doubt also arose, which had some Weight with the Senate, that the Pontiff made Instances that their Troops might pass into *Tuscany*, in order to constrain them to accept of the Suspension to avoid the Danger of losing them. The Lieutenant had, with no great Difficulty, removed those Perplexities from the Mind of the Marquis, though many of his Council, for fear of exposing the Troops to Danger, advised him to the contrary; for, as he had been before ready to come to *Forli*, so he did not refuse, if Necessity required, to pass into *Tuscany*.

A. D.

1527.

Duke of
Urbino
suspected.

BUT the *Venetians*, to keep the Pope and *Florentines* in some Hopes, and, on the other hand, to be in Readiness to take such Measures as the Course of Affairs Day after Day required, ordered that the Duke of *Urbino* should, on the Fourth of *April*, break up from *Casal maggiore*, and send his Cavalry by the Way that lay along the *Po* on the other Side, and his Infantry by that River. The Duke, shewing some Apprehensions from the March of the Imperialists into *Romagna*, sent Two Thousand Foot of the *Venetians* to cover his own State. It was however suspected by many, and by the Pontiff in particular, that he had made a secret Promise to *Bourbon* to give him no Impediment in his Passage into *Tuscany*.

Progress
of the Im-
perial Ar-
my.

IN the mean time the Duke of *Bourbon* searching all Parts for Provisions, of which he stood in extreme Necessity, sent a Part of the Army to *Cotignuola*, which Town, though it had a strong Wall, after a little Battering, surrendered on Articles; for the Inhabitants of this, and of many other Places

Places in *Romagna*, dreading the Rapines *A. D.* of Friendly Soldiers, had refused Gar- ^{1527.}
 rifons. *Cotignuola* being taken, *Bourbon* sent the Four Cannon to *Lugo*, and rested Three or Four Days on the Banks of the *Lamone*, both to provide himself with Victuals, and because of the Impediments of the Waters. From hence, on the Thirteenth of *April*, he passed the *Montone*, and encamped at *Villa Franca*, Five Miles from *Forli*. That Day the Marquis of *Saluzzo* took and disarmed Five Hundred Foot, almost all *Spaniards*, who had left their Colours, and were gone marauding towards *Monte Poggiuoli*, as was the Case of almost the whole Army through extreme Want of Provisions. On the Fourteenth *Bourbon* encamped on the Road towards *Meldola*, a Way that leads, by *Galeata* and *Valdibagno*, into *Tuscany*, whither he was earnestly solicited to pass by the *Senese*, who offered him Plenty of Provisions and Pioneers. The *Germans* in their March, burning all the Places in the Country through which they passed, attacked the Town of *Meldola*, which surrendered, and yet was burnt.

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1527.

New A-
greement
at Florence.

THE same Day *Bourbon* received Advice that the Viceroy, with the Consent of *Motte*, whom he had deputed to him for that Purpose, had the Day before signed an Agreement in *Florence*, importing: That without derogating in other Matters, but rather confirming anew the Convention at *Rome*, the Duke of *Bourbon* should, within Five Days next ensuing, begin to retire with the Army; and, as soon as he was retired to his first Encampment, should receive Sixty Thousand Ducats some time in *May* next, Fifty Thousand of which the Viceroy, by a Schedule, or Note, under his own Hand, obliged *Cæsar* to repay; but these last Sixty Thousand were not to be paid till the Release of *Filippo Strozzi*, and the Absolution of *Jacopo Salviati* from the Penalty of Thirty Thousand Ducats, as the Viceroy had promised the Pontiff, not in the Articles of the Truce, but simply by Word of Mouth.

Ineffectual
to stop
Bourbon.

THIS News did not retard the Duke of *Bourbon* from marching forwards, nor yet

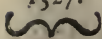
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yet the Advice that the Viceroy was set out from *Florence* for the Army, in order to settle with him all Matters which should be necessary. For the Viceroy was desirous of an Accommodation, as for many other Reasons, so also, as I have heard from Persons of Credit, because he was projecting that the Army should immediately turn its Force against the *Venetians*. And though he had promised at *Rome* to remove from *Bourbon* the Cavalry, and the greatest Part of the *Spanish* Infantry, yet, while he was treating in *Florence*, he refused to do it, saying, he would not be the Cause of the Ruin of *Cæsar's* Army.

BOURBON, on the Sixteenth Day, advanced and encamped at *Santa Sofia*, a Town of the Valley of *Galeata*. subject to the *Florentines*, labouring, by Speed and Fraud, to prevent all Obstacles in his Passage of the *Alps*, where, on account of the Want of Provisions, any cross Accident would have been enough to disorder the Army. On the Seventeenth having received, at *San Pietro in Bagno*, Letters from the Viceroy, and from the Lieutenant,

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1527.



Crafty
Conduct
of Bourbon

nant, notifying the Viceroy's Coming, he answered to them both, that their Advices had found him in so inconvenient a Quarter, that it was impossible to expect him there, but that he would wait for them the next Day at *Santa Maria in Bagno* at the Foot of the *Alps*; shewing himself, especially in his Letter to the Lieutenant, very desirous of an Accommodation, and to make known to the Pontiff his good Disposition, and his Devotion, though his Mind was otherwise disposed. The Viceroy came the Day appointed, and the same Day the Lieutenant, suspecting the March of *Bourbon*, that the Enemy might not enter *Tuscany* before the Succours, perswaded the Marquis of *Saluzzo* by many Reasons to march forwards; and having effectually confuted *Giovanni Vitturio*, the *Venetian* Proveditor with the Marquis, and others, who, from Fear of exposing the Troops to Danger, demanded that, before they passed into *Tuscany*, Security should be given of Two Hundred Thousand Ducats, or of some Fortresses in Pledge, conducted him with all his Troops to *Bersighelle*; from whence
he

he wrote to the Pontiff, that he had found such a Readiness in the Disposition of the Marquis, that he no longer doubted of making him pass with his Troops into *Tuscany*, and he assured himself that those of the *Venetians* would do the same; but that the more the Affairs of *Florence* were secured by their Passage, the more those of *Rome* would be endangered; for *Bourbon*, when no other Hope remained, would be necessitated to betake himself to that Enterprize, and finding himself nearer *Rome*, it would be difficult for the Succours that should be sent to equal his Speed, since he might pass the *Appennine* in two Encampments.

AGAINST such an Event the *Florentines* had before endeavoured to provide themselves with the Assistance of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Urbino*, to whom they had first given Hopes, and afterwards a Promise, that, if their Troops passed into *Tuscany*, they would enter into the League, and oblige themselves to pay a certain Number of Foot, and not to agree with *Cæsar*, though the Pontiff should

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1527.

Viceroy
eluded by
him.

should set them an Example : And to the Duke of *Urbino*, who, after passing the *Po* at *Ficheruolo*, had on the Thirteenth advanced to *Finale*, and afterwards to *Corticella*, they had deputed *Palla Rucellai* to treat with him on those Points, and offered to restore him the Fortresses of *San Leo* and *Majuolo*. Wherefore it was the less difficult to have the Assistance in Readiness, and the rather as Advice came that the Viceroy had not only not found, in the Place appointed, the Duke of *Bourban*, who had made flight of him, and had on the same Day employed himself in passing the *Alps*, but had also been in great Danger of being killed by the Peasants, who had risen up in Arms on account of the Losses and Injuries received from the Army. For the Marquis, though the Duke of *Urbino*, drawing him to a Conference at *Castel San Piero*, endeavoured to interpose either Difficulties or Delays, was ready to pass the *Alps*; so that on the Twenty-second of *April* he encamped at *Borgo a San Lorenzo* in *Mugello*, and the Duke of *Urbino*, unable with any Show of Decency to remove far from

from him, and unwilling to take upon himself the Blame of all that might happen, seeing the Readiness of the *French*, and knowing that the *Venetians* empowered him to act at Discretion, with Orders, however, if the *Florentines* did not enter into the Confederacy, as soon as he arrived in *Tuscany* immediately to repass the Army, passed also himself, and on the Twenty-fifth Day of the Month encamped at *Barberino*. A. D. 1527. Confederate Army passes into Tuscany.

BOURBON, in the mean time, having the same Day passed the *Alps*, encamped at the Pieve of *San Stefano*, which Town bravely repulsed the Attacks of his Men, and from thence sent one of his Gentlemen to the Pontiff, in order to amuse him with the same Arts, and to have the fairer Opportunity to oppress him, to confirm the Desire he had of an Agreement with him, but that, seeing the Stubbornness of his Troops, he accompanied them to avoid greater Mischief, and advised him not to break off the Treaty of an Accommodation, nor regard what further Expences might be necessary. But it

A. D. 1527. it was needless to take so much Pains with the Pontiff, who believing too much the Thing which he desired, and desiring too much to be eased of his Expences, as soon as he had Advice of the Convention in *Florence*, in the Presence, and with the Consent of *Bourbon's* Agent, had most imprudently disbanded almost all the Infantry of the Black Bands; and *Vaudemont*, as in Times of the most secure Peace, was gone off by Sea towards *Marseilles*.

Impolitic
Step of
the Pope.

ALL the Armies then being arrived in *Tuscany*, and the Confederates having Intelligence that *Bourbon* had marched in one Day, which was the Twenty-third, from the Pieve of *San Stefano*, to encamp at *Chiassa* near *Arezzo*, which is Eighteen Miles, a Council was held of the General Officers assembled at *Barberino* on taking proper Measures: And many of them, with the Agents of the Pontiff and the *Florentines*, insisting that the united Armies should remove to some Post beyond *Florence*, to deprive *Bourbon* of all Means of Access to that City, it was resolved that the

the next Day, the Troops being left to ^{A. D} rest themselves in the same Camp, the ^{1527.} Generals should go to *Ancisa*, Thirteen Miles distant from *Florence*, in order to remove the Troops thither, if they found it a Place of Security for a Camp, as *Federigo da Bozzolo*, the Author of that Counsel, assured them. But the Day after, being on their March, and drawing near to *Florence*, an Event unforeseen, and which was likely to produce very sad Effects, had it not been remedied, was a great Hinderance to this and other Projects, which would have been put in Execution. For the Animosities and Disaffection in *Florence* being risen to a great Height, and almost all the People very uneasy and discontented under the present Government, and the Youth of the City insisting that the Magistrates should deliver them Arms out of the Arsenal, to defend themselves, as they said, against the Soldiers, before any Resolution was taken, on the Twentieth a certain Tumult happening ^{Tumult in Florence.} as it were by Chance to arise in the Great Square, the greater Part of the People, and almost all the Youth in Arms, began
to

A. D. 1527. to run towards the Townhouse: And, what gave no small Incentive to this Tumult was either the Imprudence or Timorousness of *Silvio*, Cardinal of *Cortona*, who having appointed to march out of the City to meet the Duke of *Urbino* for doing him Honour, did not change his Resolution, though he knew that the Tumult was begun before he put himself in Motion. Hence a Rumour spreading through the City that the Cardinal was fled greatly increased the Concourse to the Townhouse, which being seized by the Youth, and the Square filled by the armed Multitude, they constrained the chief Magistrate to proclaim, by solemn Decree, *Ippolito* and *Alessandro*, the Pope's Nephews, Rebels, with a Design to introduce anew the popular Government. But, in the mean time, there entered *Florence* the Duke and the Marquis, with many Officers, and with the Cardinal of *Cortona*, and *Ippolito de' Medici*, and they put in Arms Fifteen Hundred Foot, who had been kept several Days in the City out of Suspicion: With these drawn up in Order they marched all in a Body together towards

towards the Square, which being immediately abandoned by the Multitude, they took Possession of it; but being pelted with Stones, and fired at with Harquebusses by those in the Townhouse, none durst stay in the open Square, but posted themselves in the circumjacent Streets. A. D. 1527.

Now the Duke of *Urbino* imagining that the Troops which were in *Florence*, (a Thing which, tho' it seemed of no Moment, was yet the principal Cause of the Deliverance this Day of the City of *Florence* from so manifest a Danger) were not sufficient to make him Master of the Townhouse, and judging that, if it were not gained before Night, the Populace would resume their Spirits, and fly again to their Arms, resolved, with the Consent of the three Cardinals that were present, namely *Cibo*, *Cortona*, and *Ridolfi*, and of the Marquis of *Saluzzo* and the *Venetian* Proveditors, who were all assembled in the Street of the *Garbo* contiguous to the Square, to call in Part of the *Venetian* Infantry, which were encamped in the Plain of *Florence*, near to the City.

Hence

A. D. Hence Preparations being made for a
 1527. dangerous Contest, for the Townhouse
 could not be taken without the Death of
 almost all the Nobility who were within
 it, and there was Danger also that the
 victorious Soldiers, when once they
 had embrued their Hands and Weapons
 in Blood and Slaughter, would in the Heat
 of their Fury put all the rest of the City
 to the Sack, it was like to be a very bit-
 ter and unfortunate Day for the *Floren-*

Appeased
 by the Pru-
 dence of
 the Lieu-
 tenant.

tines, if the Lieutenant had not at that
 Instant been ready with his Counsel to
 dispatch that perplexed and urgent Affair.
 For seeing *Federigo da Bozzolo* coming to
 them, and guessing what had happened,
 he immediately parted from the Com-
 pany, and went to meet him, that he
 might be the first to speak to him. *Fede-*
rigo, in the Beginning of the Tumult,
 had repaired to the Townhouse, in Hopes
 of quieting the Uproar by the Authority
 and Favour which he had obtained with
 many of the Youth: But unable to ef-
 fect any Thing, and on the contrary af-
 fronted with abusive Words, he had
 found it very difficult, after several Hours,

to

to get Leave to depart. Coming there-
 fore out of the Townhouse full of Indig-
 nation, and knowing how easy it was to
 take it, on account of the small and un-
 disciplined Force that was in it, he was
 hastening to incite the other Commā-
 nders to make an immediate Attack upon
 the Place. But the Lieutenant repre-
 senting to him, in very few Words, how
 highly the Pontiff would be displeased at
 all the Disorders that would be conse-
 quent, and how detrimental such a Pro-
 ceeding must be to the common Cause of
 the Confederacy, and how much better
 it was to seek rather to appease than to
 inflame the Spirits of the Populace, for
 which Reason it would be of pernicious
 Consequence to acquaint the Duke of
Urbino and the rest with the Facility of
 mastering the Townhouse, drew him
 without Difficulty into his Sentiments;
 so that *Federigo* discoursing with the
 others represented the Case directly in
 the same Light as the Lieutenant would
 have it, and gave such Hopes of com-
 posing Matters without Arms, that they
 chose it as the better Way, and requested

A. D. 1527. both of them to go together into the Townhouse, and do their best to quiet the Tumult, giving Assurances to all Persons concerned that they should not be charged with having plotted this Day against the State. They went thither under a safe Conduct from those within the Place, and induced them, not without great Difficulty, to abandon the Townhouse, which they were unable to defend.

For which
he is ill
rewarded.

THUS was the Tumult appeased, and Affairs in the same Situation as before ; and yet, as Ingratitude and Calumny are more ready than Praise and Recompenſe in their Attendance on good Works, tho' the Name of the Lieutenant was at that present celebrated with the higheſt Praises, yet the Cardinal of *Cortona* soon after complained that, having a more tender Regard to the Safety of the Citizens, and particularly to *Luigi* his Brother, at that time Gonfalonier of Justice, than to the Greatness of the *Medici*, he had, by his artful Proceeding, been the Cause that the State had not that Day been for ever

ever established on the Family of the *Medici*, by Arms, and with the Blood of the Citizens: And the Multitude afterwards reproached him for having, by representing, when he went into the Town-house, the Danger greater than it was in Reality, induced them, for the Benefit of the *Medici*, to surrender without Necessity.

THE Commotion at *Florence*, tho' quieted the same Day, and without Blood, was however the Origin of very grievous Disorders; and perhaps it may be said that, had it not been for this Event, the Ruin, that very speedily followed, would not have happened. For the Duke of *Urbino*, and the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, on occasion of this Tumult, stayed in *Florence*, and went not to view the Camp of *Ancisa*, according to Appointment: And the next Day *Luigi Pisano*, and *Marco Foscaro*, the *Venetian* Ambassador residing at *Florence*, observing the Inconstancy of the City, protested that they would not consent that the Army should pass *Florence* before the Conclusion of the

A. D. 1527.
Bad Consequences of the Tumult.

A. D. 1527. Confederacy under Debate, in which they demanded a Contribution of Ten Thousand Foot, thinking it a favourable Opportunity to make this Advantage of the Necessity of the *Florentines*. But at last the Treaty was concluded the 28th Day, referring the Contribution to the Decision of the Pontiff, who was believed by this time to be re-united to the Confederates. Besides, the Time being come for the Payment of the *Swiss*, and *Luigi Pisano*, according to the bad Provision made by the *Venetians*, having no Money to satisfy them, some Days passed before it could be procured, so that the salutary Counsel of marching with the Army to encamp at *Ancisa* did not take Effect.

Pope re-
news his
Confede-
racy.

IN this State of Affairs the Pontiff remembering how *Bourbon* had over-reached the Viceroy, and was passed into *Tuscany*, turned of necessity his Thoughts upon War, and had on the 25th anew concluded a Confederacy with the King of *France* and the *Venetians*, obliging them to assist him with large Sums of Money, and not con-
fenting

senting to oblige himself or the *Flo-* A. D. 1527.
rentines to contribute beyond their Abilities, alledging the Straits to which both he and they were reduced by the vast Expences they had undergone. These Conditions, tho' hard, were approved by the Ambassadors of the Confederates, that the Pontiff might be totally separated from the Agreements made with the Viceroy, but were not approved by the Principals. The *Venetians* charged their Ambassador *Domenico Veniero* with concluding, without the Senate's Commission, a Confederacy of burdensome Expence, and of little Fruit, because of the Wavering of the Pontiff, who, they imagined, would, on every Occasion, return to his former Inconstancy, and Desire of Agreement: And the King of *France*, exhausted of Money, and intent rather on wearying *Cæsar* with the Length of the War, than on Victory, judged it sufficient, at present, to maintain the War with little Expence; and tho' in the Beginning, when he understood that the Pontiff had made a Truce, he was very much concerned at it; yet afterwards, when he had better considered

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dered the State of Affairs, he was even desirous that the Pontiff should dispose the *Venetians*, without whom he himself would make no Convention, to accept the Truce.

BUT at this time the Pontiff, who was troubled at the Removal of the War into *Tuscany*, tho' less concerned than if it had been in the Territories of *Rome*, lifted Foot, and made Provision of Money, designing to send *Renzo da Ceri* with a Body of Troops against the *Senese*, and also to attack them by Sea, that *Bourbon* being employed in *Tuscany* might be prevented from taking the Road to *Rome*. But his Apprehensions on that Account diminished every Day; for he was in Hopes that, from the Difficulty that must attend *Bourbon* in conducting towards *Rome* an Army without Provisions, and without Money, and from the Opportunity of the State of *Siena*, so convenient for him, and where he might at least provide his Troops with Victuals, he would stop and prepare for an Enterprize against the *Florentines*. But *Bourbon*, whether he had at first taken a different Resolution, confirmed

firmèd, as many have told us, so long ^{A. D.} since as when he was at *Finale*, by the ^{1527.} Authority of the Duke of *Ferrara* and *Geronimo Morone*, or doubting of Success in an Enterprize upon *Florence*, where the Forces of the whole League were assembled for its Defence, and besides no longer able without Money to maintain the Army, which had hitherto been conducted through so many Difficulties with vain Promises, and vain Hopes, being under a Necessity to try Fortune or perish, resolved to march on a sudden, and with the utmost Speed, to make an Assault on the City of *Rome*, where the Prize of ^{*Bourbon*} the Victory, both to *Cæsar* and the Sol- ^{resolves to} ^{march to} ^{*Rome.*} diers, would be inestimable. And he had no small Hopes of Conquest, since the Pontiff, with bad Counsel, had disbanded, first the *Swiss*, and then the Black Bands, and had again, after despairing of an Agreement, set about making Provisions with such Slowness, that it was judged he would not have Time to assemble a sufficient Garrison.

A. D.
1527.

Approach
es *Rome*.

Terror
and Em-
barraf-
ment of
the Pope.

THE Duke of *Bourbon* then put himself on his March with the Army, from the Territory of *Arezzo*, on the 26th Day of *April*, not encumbered with Cannon or Carriages; and making his Way with incredible Speed, without being retarded by the Rains which fell very heavy for some Days, or the Want of Provisions, arrived near *Rome* at a Time when the Pontiff had hardly received any certain Advice of his Coming, meeting with no Obstacle either in *Viterbo*, whither the Pope had not Time to send Troops, nor in any other Place. Wherefore the Pontiff having recourse, as had been foretold him, by very prudent Persons, would be the Case, in his last Necessities, and when they could be of no longer Service to him, to those Remedies which, if he had used them in Season, would have been of very great Moment to his Security, created three Cardinals for Money, which, on account of the Straitness of Time, and Urgency of Affairs, could not be paid down, or if it had been paid would have been of no further Use on account of the Nearness of the Danger. He called
together

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together the *Romans*, and exhorted them A. D. 1527.
to take Arms with all Speed and Alacrity, for the Defence of their dear Country in so great a Danger, and the richer Sort in particular to lend their Money for enlisting of Troops. But in this last Article he found no manner of Correspondence to his Desires; on the contrary, it is still fresh in memory that *Domenico di Massimo*, the richest of all the *Romans*, offered to lend 100 Ducats, for which he suffered the Punishment due to such Avarice, his Daughters becoming a Prey to the Soldiers, and himself with his Sons, being made Prisoners, obliged to purchase their Liberty with a most exorbitant Ransom.

BUT when Advice came to *Florence* of *Bourbon's* Decampment, which was sent in a Letter from *Vitello* at *Arezzo*, and did not arrive till it was a Day too late, it was resolved by the Generals that Count *Guido Rangone*, with his own Horse and those of Count *Gajazzo*, and 5000 Foot of the *Florentines* and of the Church, should immediately march with

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with all Speed towards *Rome*, to be followed by the rest of the Forces as soon as possible, in hopes that, if *Bourbon* carried Artillery with him, the Succour would arrive at *Rome* before him; but if he made the best of his Way, it would be so quick after him, that having no Artillery, and there being a moderate Number of Defendants in *Rome*, where the Pope had written he had 6000 Foot, he would be held in Play till this first Relief arrived, after which *Rome* would be out of Danger.

Rome ill
provided.

BUT the Quickness of *Bourbon*, and the slender Provisions made at *Rome*, defeated all these Designs; for *Renzo da Ceri*, to whom the Pontiff had given the principal Charge of defending *Rome*, having for want of Time listed only a few Foot that could be of any Service, but a great Rabble of raw, undisciplined Fellows, got together in a Hurry, out of the Stables of Cardinals and Prelates, and the Shops of Artificers, and from Inns; and having made some Fortifications to the Suburb, which every one thought weak,

weak, but sufficient in his Opinion, he A. D.
1527. was so confident of making a good Defence, that he would not suffer the Bridges on the *Tiber* to be broken down for saving *Rome*, even if the Suburb, and the Part of the City beyond the *Tiber* could not be defended; and, what is more, judging all Succours needless, and having learnt that Count *Guido* was coming with a Reinforcement, he caused the Bishop of *Verona* to write to him on the Fourth of *May*, in the Name of the Pontiff, that, since *Rome* was sufficiently provided and fortified, he should send thither only Six or Eight Hundred Harquebusiers, and march with the rest of his Troops to join the Army of the League, in conjunction with which he would do more Service than by shutting himself within *Rome*. This Letter, tho' it did no Harm, because the Count was not so far advanced as that he could arrive in Season, was yet a sufficient Evidence what a wrong Judgment he had formed of the present Danger.

BUT it was no less wonderful, if it be a Wonder that Men know not how, or are
unable

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Pope's un-
usual
Confi-
dence.

unable to resist Fate, that the Pontiff, who used to despise *Renzo da Ceri* above all other Generals, should now throw himself wholly into his Arms, and repose an entire Confidence in his Judgment; and, what is yet much more surprising, whereas he was usually timorous and daunted at lesser Dangers, and had been several times inclined to abandon *Rome*, while the Viceroy laid Siege to *Frusolone*, now, on the contrary, in so great a Danger, divested of his Nature, he had the Constancy to stay in the City, with such great Hopes of defending himself, that, as if he had taken upon him to be an Agent for his Enemies, he not only prohibited all manner of Persons to leave the Town, but ordered that no Goods should be suffered to be carried out of the Place, as many among the Merchants and others attempted to send off their Effects by way of the River,

Bourbon with the Army, on the Fifth of May, encamped in the Meadows near *Rome*, and with the Insolence of a Soldier sent a Trumpet to the Pontiff to demand a Passage for himself and the Army through
the

the City of *Rome* in their Way to the Kingdom of *Naples*. And the next Morning by Break of Day, resolved to die or conquer, as it was certain that he had but little other Hopes left of his Affairs, he drew near the Suburb on the Quarter of *Monte di Santo Spirito*, and began a fierce Assault, ^{A. D. 1527.} *Rome assaulted.* Fortune having befriended him in approaching the Army the more securely by the Favour of a thick Fog, which rising before Day covered the Soldiers till they reached the Place where the Attack was made; in the Beginning of which *Bourbon*, pushing forwards at the very Front of the Troops, in the utmost Despair, not only because, if he did not obtain the Victory, he had no other Resource; but because he fancied the *German* Foot proceeded but coldly to the Assault, received a Shot of a *Bourbon* Harquebus, and fell dead on the Spot. ^{killed.} His Death however was so far from cooling that it rather inflamed the Ardor of the Soldiers, who, after fighting with the greatest Vigour for the Space of Two Hours, entered at last the Suburb, being ^{The City taken,} favoured not only by the extraordinary Weakness of the Fortifications, but by the

A. D. the bad Resistance of the Defendants; ¹⁵²⁷ which last may serve, as well as many other like Instances, for a Demonstration, to those who have not yet learnt to judge of present Events from past Examples, how great a Difference there is between the Valour of Men exercised in War, and that of new Levies, raised from a promiscuous Rabble, and of a popular Multitude; for Part of the *Roman* Youth assisted at the Defence, under their own Officers of the Militia, and the Banners of the People. Though many of the *Ghibellins*, and of the Faction of the *Colonnas* wished, or at least not feared, Victory to the Imperialists, hoping that, out of Respect to their Party, they should receive no Injury from them, which occasioned also a greater Coldness in the Defence, yet, as it is a difficult Matter to take Towns without Artillery, the Assailants had about One Thousand Men killed on the Spot. As soon as the Soldiers had opened themselves an Entrance, every one betaking himself to a precipitate Flight, and Multitudes running in Crowds to the Castle, the Suburbs were totally abandoned,

abandoned, and left a Prey to the Conquerors; and the Pontiff, who waited the Success in the Palace of the Vatican, having Notice that the Enemy was within the Walls, instantly fled, with many of the Cardinals, into the Castle. Here, holding a Consultation whether it were best to stay there, or retire through *Rome*, escorted by the Light Horse of his Guards, to some Place of Security, being destined for an Example to shew what Calamities may befall Pontiffs, and also how difficult it is to extinguish their Authority and Majesty, on receiving Advice, by *Berando da Padua*, who had fled from the Imperial Army, of the Death of *Bourbon*, and that all the Troops, under a Consternation at the Loss of their General, were desirous to make an Agreement with him, he sent out to demand a Parley with their Heads, and unhappily laid aside all Thoughts of removing, he and his Generals being no less irresolute in providing for their Defence in the Castle, than in setting out from thence to a Place of more Safety. Wherefore the same Day the *Spaniards*, having found neither Dispositions

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tions nor Resolution for defending the
 Quarter beyond the *Tiber*, entered the
 same without Resistance, from whence,
 with the like Ease, on the same Evening,
 an Hour before Night, by the Bridge of
Sisto, they entered the City of *Rome*,
 where, except those who trusted in the
 Name of the Faction, and some Cardinals,
 who, because they had the Name of having
 followed the Party of *Cæsar*, believed
 themselves in greater Security than others,
 all the rest of the Court and of the City,
 as it happens in such dreadful Cases, was
 in Flight and Confusion. After they
 were entered, every one began to run in
 all Haste and Disorder to plunder, without
 the least Regard not only to the Name of
 Friends, and to the Authority and Dignity
 of Prelates, but also to Churches and
 Monasteries, to Reliques honoured with
 the Concourse of all the World, and to
 Things consecrated. It would be im-
 possible therefore to relate, and almost to
 conceive the Calamities of that City, de-
 stined by the Decree of Heaven to the
 highest Grandeur, but also to frequent
 Destructions (for in the Year 980 it had
 been

Sacked.

been sacked by the *Goths*) impossible to tell the Greatness of the Booty, such was the Abundance of Riches, and such the vast Quantities of rare and precious Things of Courtiers and Merchants there accumulated. But it was yet more increased by the Quality and great Number of the Prisoners, who were obliged to pay an extravagant Price for their Redemption; and, what was a further Augmentation of the Misery and Shame, many Prelates, taken by the Soldiers, especially by the *Germans*, who were cruel and insolent out of Hatred to the Name of the *Roman* Church, were set upon scrubby Beasts, with their Faces backwards, in the Habits and Ensigns of their Dignity, and led about all *Rome* with the greatest Derision and Contempt. Many were most cruelly tormented, and either expired amidst their Torments, or were so miserably handled, that they died within a few Days after they had paid their Ransom. There were killed in the Assault, and in the Fury of the Sack, about Four Thousand Men. The Palaces of all the Cardinals were plundered, except those Pa-

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laces for which were paid very large Sums of Money, to save the Merchants, who had taken Refuge there with their Effects, as also the Persons and Effects of many others; and some of those which had been compounded for with the *Spaniards* were afterwards either plundered by the *Germans*, or underwent a new Composition with them. The Marchioness of *Mantoua* compounded for her Palace at Fifty Thousand Ducats, which were paid by the Merchants and others who had fled thither; and it is reported that Don *Ferrando*, her Son, had Ten Thousand Ducats for his Share. The Cardinal of *Siena*, devoted to the Imperial Name by antient Inheritance from his Progenitors, after he had compounded for himself and his Palace with the *Spaniards*, was made a Prisoner by the *Germans*, and, after his Palace had been plundered by them, and himself carried into the Suburb, bare-headed, and sorely buffeted, forced to redeem himself from them with Five Thousand Ducats. The Cardinals of *Minerva* and *Ponzetta* underwent almost the like Calamity, being taken Prisoners by

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by the *Germans*, and paying their Ransom, A. D.
 after they had been both of them first 1527.
 led about in a vile Manner all over *Rome*
 in Procession. The *Spanish* and *German*
 Prelates and Cardinals, imagining them-
 selves secure from being injured by their
 own Countrymen, were taken, and treat-
 ed with no less Severity than the others.
 You might hear the lamentable Cries and
 Shrieks of the *Roman* Women, and of
 the Nuns, hurried away to Bands of Sol-
 diers to satiate their Lust; so that it
 might be truly said, Hidden to Mortals
 are the Judgments of God, who was
 pleased to permit the renowned Chastity
 of the *Roman* Women to fall by Force a
 Sacrifice to so great a Degree of Brutality
 and Misery. All Places resounded with
 infinite Lamentations of those who were
 miserably tormented, some to constrain
 them to pay their Ransom, others to dis-
 cover their secreted Effects. All conse-
 crated Things, the Sacraments, and the
 Reliques of Saints, of which the Churches
 were full, were spoiled of their Ornaments,
 and thrown about the Ground, with in-
 finite Marks of Contempt from the *Ger-*

A. D. *man* Barbarity ; and what escaped the

1527.



Hands of the Soldiers, which was mostly Things of the least Value, was afterwards carried away by the Peasants of the *Colonnas* that came into the Town, as did Cardinal *Colonna* himself, who arrived the next Day, and saved many Women who had fled to his House. It was reported that the Plunder in Money, Gold and Silver Plate, and Jewels, amounted to above a Million of Ducats, but what was raised by Ransoms made yet a much greater Sum.

THE same Day that the Imperialists took *Rome*, Count *Guido*, with the Light Horse, and Eight Hundred Harquebusiers, arrived at *Ponte di Salara*, in order to enter *Rome* the same Evening ; but understanding the Success, he retired to *Otricoli*, where he joined the rest of his Troops. For tho' he had received Letters from *Rome* which despised his Succours, he would by no means despise the Fame of being the Man who had succoured *Rome*, and had therefore continued his March. And there were not wanting some, as it is
the

the Nature of those who are kind and gentle Estimators of their own Actions, but severe Censurers of the Actions of others, who blame Count *Guido* for not being so wise as to discern a very fair Opportunity. For the Imperialists being all very intent on so rich a Prey, some in stripping the Houses, others in searching out Concealments, others in making Prisoners, and securing them afterwards, were dispersed all over the City without any settled Quarters, without resorting to their Colours, and without paying any Obedience to the Commands of their Generals. Hence many were of Opinion that, if the Troops which were with Count *Guido* had been speedily conducted into *Rome*, they would not only have procured, by presenting themselves before the Castle, which was not besieged nor blockaded, the Deliverance of the Pontiff, but would have had an Opportunity of performing a more glorious Exploit, the Enemies being so busy about their Prey, that it would have been difficult, on any Occasion, to get together any considerable Number, especially as it is certain that some Days

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after, when by Orders of the Generals, or on some Accident, an Alarm was given, not a Soldier appeared under his Colours. But Men often persuade themselves that, if such a Thing had been done or not done, there would have succeeded a certain Effect, whereas, if the Experiment might be tryed, such Judgments would be oftentimes found fallible.

Army
of the
League
marches
towards
Rome.

THERE remained then no Hopes of Relief for those who were blocked up in the Castle but only from the Army of the League, which did not set out from *Florence* till the Third of *May*, because the *Venetians* had been dilatory in paying the *Swiss*, and then proceeded, the Marquis of *Saluzzo* keeping a Day's March before the *Venetian* Troops, which, according to the Order settled between him and the Duke, were to follow by the same Road. The Duke, however, on the Seventh Day, contrary to the Orders that had been given, directed his March from the Camp at *Cortona* towards *Perugia*, to arrive at *Todi*, and from thence at *Orti*, where he designed to pass the *Tiber*, and
join

join the other Forces. In their March by the appointed Road they took by Storm and plundered *Castel della Pieve*, which had refused to quarter the *Swiss* within the Place, with the Slaughter of Six or Eight Hundred Men of that Town. By this Disorder, the Troops being intent on Pillaging, it was the Tenth Day before they were advanced to *Ponte a Granajuolo*, where they had Advice of the Loss of *Rome*. On the Eleventh they proceeded to *Orvieto*, from whence, by Advice of *Federigo da Bozzolo*, the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, *Federigo* himself, and *Ugo de' Pepoli*, with a large Body of Horse, advanced towards the Castle, *Federigo* and *Ugo* designing to approach the Place, while the Marquis remained behind to support them, hoping to find the Imperialists unprovided, and to have an Opportunity, by their sudden Arrival, of carrying off the Pontiff and the Cardinals from the Castle, especially as it was known that the Soldiers, on account of the Greatness of the Booty, had laid aside all other Thoughts, and were intent on nothing else. But the Design miscarried; for *Federigo* having

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A. D. 1527. advanced not far from *Rome* fell with his Horse atop of him, by which he was so much bruised, that he could not proceed forwards; and *Ugo* presenting himself near the Castle, it being broad Day, whereas it had been ordered to arrive by Night, retired, knowing, as he said, that the Enterprize was discovered, but, as *Federigo* said, more intimidated than he had need to be.

Slow Motions of the Duke of Urbino. IN the mean time the Duke of *Urbino* apprised of the Fortune of *Rome*, tho' he had declared that he would succour the Pontiff with all his Forces, yet thinking that he had an Opportunity of taking the Administration of Affairs at *Perugia* out of the Hands of *Gentile Baglione*, who was maintained in it by the Authority of the Pontiff, and restoring it to the Sons of *Giampaolo*, approached *Perugia* with the *Venetian* Troops, and with Threats constrained *Gentile* to quit the Place, and leaving there some Chiefs dependent on *Malatesta* and *Oratio*, one of whom was shut up in *Castel Sant' Angelo*, and the other with the *Venetian*

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tian Forces in *Lombardy*, after he had wasted three Days in this Exploit, he proceeded on the Sixteenth to *Orvieto*, the Way which he had taken, from the Camp at *Cortona* to go beyond the *Tiber* towards *Rome*, having been the Cause of much Delay. At *Orvieto* all the General Officers assembled in Council to resolve on future Proceedings; upon this Subject the Duke of *Urbino* shewing great Warmth in the Preamble to his Speech, represented a Multitude of Difficulties, putting them in Mind above all things to think of securing a Retreat, if the Relief of the Castle should not succeed. For this Reason he was for demanding Hostages of *Orvieto*, that the Army might not fail of being supplied with Provisions at its Return; and requiring a Length of Time for every Affair, he resolved at last to be on the Nineteenth at *Nepi*, and that the Marquis with his Troops, and Count *Guido* with the *Italian* Foot should be the same Day at *Bracciano*, in order for all to proceed next Day to *Isola*, a Place Nine Miles distant from *Rome*.

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THE

THE Pontiff, apprised of the Coming of these Troops by a Letter of the Lieutenant written from *Viterbo*, refused, on this Account, when the Agreement was in a manner concluded between him and the Imperialists, to subscribe the Articles, not so much for the Hope that he received from the Letter, which, tho' written cautiously, gave him some Hints of what, by reasoning on past Events, he might expect for the future, as to avoid the Reproach of having it ascribed to his Cowardice or Precipitation that he had not been succoured. The *French* shewed a Readiness to succour the Castle, and the *Venetians* augmented the same Disposition by warm Letters, the Prince having harangued with great Vehemence on the Subject in the Council of the Pregadi. The Duke, therefore, having no Excuse left, consented that the next Day a Review should be taken of all the Troops, hoping perhaps to find them so much diminished in Number as to give him just Reason for refusing to fight; a Design which proved of no Service, for in the Army, tho' Multitudes had deserted, there
still

still remained above Fifteen Thousand *A. D.*
 Foot, and all the Troops were wonder-
 fully disposed and eager to fight. After
 the Review, on consulting what was to be
 done, many were for going and making
 an Encampment at the Cross of *Monte*
Mari, which was solicited by those in
 the Castle with great Earnestness, alledg-
 ing that, because it was a strong Post, and
 three Miles distant from *Rome*, and there
 was no Reason to fear that the Imperialists
 would march forth and encamp without
Rome, they might keep Possession of that
 Post, or make their Retreat without Dan-
 ger, and from that Quarter might better
 espy as well as embrace an Opportunity
 for relieving the Castle. But the Duke,
 not pleased with this Resolution, approved
 of a Way proposed by *Guido Rangone*,
 who offered to approach the Castle that
 very Night with all the Ecclesiastic Horse
 and Foot, and make an Attempt to get
 out the Pontiff, provided the Duke of
Urbino with the rest of the Army would
 advance as far as the *Tre Capanne* to sup-
 port him. But this Design was not exe-
 cuted at Night, because the Duke, stimu-
 lated

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lated by the Pontiff, rode to view the Camp of *Monte Mari*, and yet when Night came he did not pass the *Tre Capanne*, but many Hours being idly spent in this Reconnoitring, it was necessary to defer the Execution of the Design that had been laid to the next Night. But the same Day it being reported by certain Spies, either true or suborned, that the Entrenchments made by the Imperialists in the Meadows were stronger than indeed they were, and that they had broken (which also was false) the Wall of the Corridore, through which you go from the Palace of the *Vatican* to *Castel Sant' Angelo* in several Places, that on the Discovery of any Troops they might be able to send immediate Succours from several Quarters, and the Duke on this Report proposing many Difficulties, which were all allowed by *Guido*, and approved by almost all the other General Officers, it was concluded impossible at that Time to relieve the Castle, the Duke sharply rebuking some of the other Officers who endeavoured by disputing to maintain the contrary Opinion.

THUS

THUS did the Pontiff remain a Prey, not so much as a single Lance being broken to deliver out of Prison him who, to succour others, had listed so many Troops, and spent an infinite Sum of Money, and stirred up War in almost all the World. It was however debated whether what was not effected at present could not hereafter be accomplished with greater Forces. To this Point, which was proposed by the Duke, it was answered by himself, that undoubtedly he might relieve the Castle whenever there should be in the Army the Number of Sixteen Thousand *Swiss*, hired by Appointment of the Cantons, not including among the Number those in the Army at present, as become useless by their long Stay in *Italy*, and, besides the *Swiss*, Ten Thousand *Italian* Harquebussiers, Three Thousand Pioneers, and Forty Pieces of Cannon. Wherefore he desired the Lieutenant to advise the Pontiff, who, he understood, had Provisions for some Weeks, to defer coming to an Agreement till these Forces were assembled. And the Lieutenant replying that he

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he approved of his Proposition in case the Situation of Affairs in the mean time received no Alteration; but as it was probable those in *Rome* would, during that Time, render the Succour more difficult by new Entrenchments and Fortifications; and also that the Troops in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which had been brought by the Viceroy in the Fleet, would march to *Rome*; for which Reasons he desired to know what Hopes could be given the Pontiff, when such, as it was likely, would be the Events; he answered, that in such a Case he would do his best; adding, that if the Troops which were at *Naples* should join those in *Rome*, they would make together above Twelve Thousand *German* Foot, and between Eight and Ten Thousand Foot *Spaniards*; and therefore if the Castle should be lost, it could not be imagined that the War would be brought to a good Issue, unless they had actually on Foot a Body of at least Twenty-two, or Twenty-four Thousand *Swiss*.

THESE Demands being despised by every

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every one as impossible, the Army, on ^{A. D.} the First of June, greatly diminished in ^{1527.} Foot, retired to *Monteruosi*, tho' the Pope ^{Army of the League} had made many Instances for delaying ^{retires.} their Decampment, in order to favour himself with their Stay in the Treaty for an Agreement ; and the same Night *Piermaria Rosso*, and *Alessandro Vitello*, with Two Hundred Light Horse, went away to *Rome* to the Enemy.

THE Pontiff, who had never entertained much Hopes of Relief, thinking himself also in Danger of his Life from the *Colonnas* and the *German* Foot, had sent to *Siena* for the Viceroy, hoping to get better Conditions of him ; and the Viceroy went with a good Will, believing that the Army would make him their General. Being arrived at *Rome*, whither he passed under a safe Conduct from the Generals of the Army, and finding himself by no means acceptable to the *German* and *Spanish* Foot, who had chosen the Prince of *Orange* Captain General, he durst not make any Stay there. But as he was taking his Way to *Naples*, he was
met

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met on the Road by the Marquis *del Guaſto*,
 Don *Ugo*, and *Alarcòne*, who adviſed him
 to return to *Rome*, and prevailed with
 him. However, as his Prefence was un-
 acceptable to the Army, he had no longer
 Authority either in Matters of War, or
 in the Negotiations of Agreement with
 the Pontiff, who at laſt, deſtitute of all
 Hopes, on the Sixth of *June*, agreed
 with the Imperialiſts almoſt on the ſame
 Conditions as he might have done before.
 By this Convention the Pontiff was to pay
 the Army Four Hundred Thouſand Du-
 cats, that is, One Hundred Thouſand at
 preſent, which were paid with the Money
 and Gold and Silver Plate conveyed for
 Safety into the Caſtle, Fifty Thouſand
 within Twenty Days, and Two Hundred
 and Fifty Thouſand within Two Months,
 aſſigning for Payment of this laſt Sum a
 pecuniary Tax, to be levied on the whole
 State of the Church : He was to deliver
 up to *Cæſar*, who was to keep Poſſeſſion
 as long as he thought fit, *Caſtel Sant' An-
 gelo*, with the Caſtles of *Oſtia*, *Civita
 Vecchia*, and *Civita Caſtellana*, and the
 Cities of *Piacenza*, *Parma*, and *Modena* :

He

Pope
 agrees
 with the
 Imperia-
 liſts.

The
 Terms.

He was to remain a Prisoner, with all the Cardinals that were with him, in Number Thirteen, till the first Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats were paid; after which they were to be removed to *Naples* or *Gaeta*, in expectation of what *Cæsar* should determine concerning them: For Security of the Payments, a third Part of which belonged to the *Spaniards*, the Pontiff was to give Hostages to the Army, namely, the Archbishops of *Siponte* and *Pisa*, the Bishops of *Pistoja* and *Verona*, *Jacopo Salviati*, *Simone da Ricafoli*, and *Lorenzo* the Brother of Cardinal *Ridolfi*: Free Liberty for going out of the Castle was to be granted to *Renzo da Ceri*, *Alberto Pio*, *Oratio Baglione*, and to the Chevalier *Casale*, Ambassador of the King of *England*, with all others who had taken Refuge there, except the Pontiff and the Cardinals: The Pontiff was to absolve the *Colonnas* from the Censures which they had incurred, and when he should be conducted out of *Rome*, was to leave there a Legate as his Deputy, and the Court of the *Rota* to administer Justice.

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Pope
strictly
guarded.

As soon as the Convention was signed, there entered the Castle three Companies of *Spanish* and three others of *German* Foot, commanded by *Alarcone*, who being appointed to take Charge of the Castle, and of the Pontiff, was very diligent in guarding him, confining him to a narrow Apartment, and allowing him but very little Liberty.

Towns
refuse
Submissi-
on to
Cæsar.

BUT the other Fortresses and Towns, that had been promised, were not resigned with the same Facility; for that of *Civita Castellana* was garrisoned by Commission from the Confederates, and *Andrea Doria* refused to resign the Castle of *Civita Vecchia*, tho' he had the Pontiff's Orders to do it, before he was paid Fourteen Thousand Ducats, which, he said, were due to him for his Pay. And when *Giuliano*, a Roman Architect, by Commission from the Pontiff, and *Lewis Count Lodron* from the Generals came to *Parma* and *Piacenza* with Orders to those Cities to put themselves under the Dominion of *Cæsar*, tho', on the other hand, the Pontiff had secretly sig-

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signified to them the contrary, these Places, ^{A. D.} ^{1527.} abhorring the Government of the *Spaniards*, refused to grant them Admittance.

BUT the *Modenese* were no longer in their own Power; for the Duke of *Ferrara*, not letting slip the Opportunity presented him by the Calamities of the Pontiff, and threatening to destroy the Corn which was just ripe, constrained them to surrender their City into his Hands on the Sixth of *June*, not without Disgrace to Count *Lodovico Rangone*, who, tho' the Duke had but few Troops with him, abandoned the Place without 'making any Shew of Resistance. And the Duke in this Affair despised the Authority of the *Venetians*, who advised him not to make, at such a Juncture, any Innovation to the Prejudice of the Church. And yet they themselves, having some Intelligence with ^{Ravenna} the *Guelfs* of *Ravenna*, sent thither some ^{seized by} the *Vene-* Troops under Colour of guarding it for ^{tians.} fear of those of *Cotignuola*, and appropriated that City to themselves, and took also the Castle, the Governor being privately assassinated, publishing that they

A. D. 1527. would hold the Place in the Name of the whole League. And a few Days after they seized on *Cervia*, and the Saltworks there which belonged to the Pontiff, in whose State, as there was none to guard or defend it, except so far as was done by the People themselves of their own Accord, and for their own Interest, *Sigismondo Malatesta*, with the same Ease, took Possession of the City and Castle of *Rimini*.

*Rimini by
Malatesta.*

Revolution at
Florence.

NOR had the Affairs of the Pontiff met with any better Success in the City of *Florence*; for as soon as the News arrived there of the Loss of *Rome*, the Cardinal of *Cortona*, terrified to find himself abandoned by the Citizens, who made Profession of being Friends of the *Medici*, having no Way to make Provision of Money but by violent and extraordinary Means, and loth, out of Covetousness, to break in upon his own Stock, at least till he was apprised of the Progress of the Armies which were marching to succour the Pontiff, not induced by any Necessity, for there was a good Number of Soldiers in the City, and the People, dismayed at what

what had happened on their seizing the Townhouse, would not have ventured to stir, resolved to give way to Fortune; and, calling an Assembly of the Citizens, he put them in full and free Possession of the Administration of the Republic, on obtaining certain Privileges and Exemptions, with Leave for the Pontiff's Nephews to stay in *Florence* as private Citizens, and a general Amnesty for all past Offences against the State. These Things being settled on the Sixteenth of *May*, the Cardinals, with the Pontiff's Nephews, departed to *Lucca*, where, soon repenting of the Resolution that he had taken with so much Timorousness, he try'd whether he could retain the Citadels of *Pisa* and *Livorno*, which were in the Hands of Governors that were trusty Friends to the Pontiff, who however, within a very few Days, despairing of Relief on account of the Pope's Captivity, and receiving also a certain Sum of Money, resigned those Fortresses to the *Florentines*. The City being reduced to a popular Government, the *Florentines* created Gonfalonier of Justice for one Year, and with a Power to

A. D.

1527.

A. D. 1527. be confirmed for three Years, *Nicolo Cap-
poni*, a Citizen of great Authority, and a
 Lover of Liberty. This Person, desirous
 above all Things of Concord among the
 Citizens, and that the Government should
 be reduced to the most perfect Form that
 was possible of a Republic, calling toge-
 ther the next Day the Great Council, in
 which resided the absolute Power of en-
 acting Laws, and of creating all the Ma-
 gistrates, spoke as follows :

* * * * *

THE Words of the Gonfalonier were
 of very great Weight, and his Counsel
 was certainly very prudent, and if the
 Citizens had hearkened to it, the new
 Liberty would perhaps have been of longer
 Duration. But as Spite and Indignation
 are more conspicuous in those who recover
 Liberty, than in those who defend it, and
 the Hatred of the People towards the
 Name of the *Medici* was great on many
 Accounts, and especially because they had
 in a great measure supported with their
 own

*Floren-
tines in-
censed a-
gainst the
Medici.*

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own Money the Enterprises undertaken by them ; since it appears that they spent in getting Possession, and afterwards in the Defence of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, above Five Hundred Thousand Ducats, as much more in the War excited by *Leo* against the King of *France*, and in the Troubles that succeeded after his Death, and were dependant on that War, Three Hundred Thousand paid to the Imperial Generals and the Viceroy before and after the Creation of *Clement*, and now above Six Hundred Thousand in the War undertaken against *Cæsar* ; they began to persecute immoderately those Citizens who had been Friends of the *Medici*, and, to testify their Aversion to the Name of the Pontiff, they defaced with great Eagerness the Arms of the *Medici* in all Parts of the City, even those affixed to Edifices erected by that Family ; they broke in Pieces the Statues of *Leo* and *Clement* that stood in the Church of the *Annunciata*, famous throughout the World ; they appropriated the Pope's Effects to the Payment of old Debts, and the greater Part of them omitted nothing that could serve

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A. D.
1527.

A. D. 1527. to provoke the Anger of the Pontiff, and to foment Divisions and Discord in the City, and they would have proceeded to more and greater Disorders, had it not been for the Interposition of the Prudence and Authority of the Gonfalonier, which however were not sufficient to remedy many Irregularities.

Imperia-
lists disor-
derly in
Rome.

BUT in *Rome* were arrived the Marquis *del Guasto*, and Don *Ugo*, with all the *German* and *Spanish* Foot that were in the Kingdom of *Naples*; so that there were said to be assembled together Eight Thousand *Spaniards*, Twelve Thousand *Germans*, and Four Thousand *Italians*; an Army that, by the Reputation it had acquired, by the Terror that it carried, and by the weak Provisions that were made to oppose it, must have made whatever Progress it pleased in *Italy*. But the Prince of *Orange* being General only in Name and Title, the Army was in Fact governed by itself, and being wholly intent on Booty and Ransoms, and collecting the Money promised by the Pontiff, had no Thought on the Interest of *Cæsar*.

The

The Soldiers therefore had no Mind to leave *Rome*, where behaving themselves in a tumultuous and disorderly Manner, the Viceroy, and the Marquis *del Guasto*, apprehensive of Danger to their Persons from the Troops, left the City; and those who remained in it were exposed to the Pestilence, which was already begun, and afterwards made terrible Havock in the Place,

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1527.

Plague in
Rome.

By this Conduct the Imperialists lost the Opportunity for many Enterprises, and especially for the Acquisition of *Bologna*, which City, tho', after the Loss of *Rome*, *Ugo de' Peppoli* had entered it with One Thousand Foot, in the Pay of the *Venetians*, yet *Lorenzo Malvezzi* raising a Tumult, with the tacit Consent of *Ramazotto*, and with the Assistance of the Faction of the *Bentivogli*, was with Difficulty kept in Obedience to the Apostolic See: And, what is perhaps of no less Importance, they gave Time to the King of *France* to send a very powerful Army into *Italy*, by which *Cæsar* was in very great Danger, after acquiring so signal an Advantage,

A. D. 1527. Advantage, of losing the Kingdom of *Naples*. For, a long Time having been spent before in *France* on making Preparations for a new War, the Confederacy, which had been many Months under Negotiation between the King of *France* and the King of *England*, was concluded on the 24th of *April*, on Condition, That the Daughter of the King of *England* should be married either to the King of *France*, or to the Duke of *Orleans*, his second Son; and that in the Interview between the two Kings, which was designed to be at *Whitsuntide* between *Calais* and *Bologne*, it should be agreed to which of them she should be given: That the King of *England* should renounce the Title of King of *France*, receiving in Recompense a yearly Pension of Fifty Thousand Ducats: That he should enter into the League made at *Rome*, and be bound to commence a War, some time in *July* next, against *Cæsar*, beyond the Mountains, with Nine Thousand Foot, and the King of *France* with Eighteen Thousand, and a suitable Number of Lances and Artillery; and that, in
the

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the mean time, they should each of them *A. D.*
 send Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, to intimate to ^{1527.}
 him the Confederacy they had made, and
 to demand of him the Releasement of
 the Children, and to enter into the Peace
 on honourable Conditions; and, in case
 he should not accept the Offer within one
 Month, to denounce War, and to begin
 Acts of Hostility. This Agreement be-
 ing made, the King of *England* imme-
 diately entered into the League, and he
 and the King of *France* sent post two
 Messengers to give the appointed Intima-
 tions to *Cæsar*, which was performed with
 more Readiness by the *French* and *English*
 Ambassadors, than had been done by
 Commission from the Pontiff; for *Baldaf-
 sarre da Castiglione*, his Nuncio, saying
 that it was not fit to exasperate the Mind
 of *Cæsar* to such a degree, refused to de-
 nounce War against him.

BUT Advice coming afterwards to
France of the Loss of *Rome*, and the
 lesser Sorrow of the Misfortune of the
 Pontiff being tempered with the greater
 Joy for the Death of *Bourbon*, the King
 not

A. D. not thinking it fit to let the Affairs of

1527.

King of
France
makes a
new A-
greement
with the
Venetians.

Italy run to Ruin, on the Fifteenth of
May, agreed with the *Venetians* to take
into their common Pay Ten Thousand
Swiss, he making them the first Payment,
and the *Venetians* the second, and so for
the future successively; and to send Ten
Thousand *French* Foot under *Pietro Na-*
varra, while the *Venetians* were to enlist
Ten Thousand *Italian* Foot between
them and the Duk of *Milan*; also to send
a new Supply of Five Hundred Lances,
and Eighteen Pieces of Artillery. And
because the King of *England*, notwith-
standing the Conventions that had been
made, did not readily concur in beginning
Hostilities on the other Side of the Moun-
tains, which also was not agreeable to the
King of *France*, each of them being de-
sirous to keep the War at a Distance from
his own Kingdom, they dispensed with
him from that Obligation, and agreed that
the King of *England* should pay for the
War of *Italy* Ten Thousand Foot for six
Months; and, at the Instances of that
King chiefly, *Lautrech*, tho' in a manner
against

against his Will, was chosen Captain General of the whole Army.

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1527.

While *Lautrech* was preparing to pass the *Alps*, with Provision of Money and other Things necessary, nothing of Moment happened in *Italy*: For the Imperial Army did not remove from *Rome*, tho' many of them were swept off every Day by the Malignity of the Pestilence, which at the same time made very great Progresses in *Florence*, and in many Parts of *Italy*; and the Army of the League, into which, at the Instances of the Marquis of *Saluzzo* and the *Venetians*, the *Florentines* had anew entered, with an Obligation to pay Five Thousand Foot, (by which *Cæsar* was highly offended, because having, at their own Sollicitations, commissioned the Duke of *Ferrara* to compound in his Name with the *Florentines*, he received almost immediate Notice of the contrary Resolution) greatly diminished in Number, because the Troops of the *Venetians* and the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, and the *Swiss* were but badly paid, was retired on the Side of *Viterbo*, and employed in

tempo-

A. D.

1527.

temporising, and endeavouring to preserve in their Devotion to the League the Cities of *Perugia*, *Orvieto*, *Spoletto*, and other neighbouring Towns. Here, on receiving Advice afterwards that Part of the Imperial Army was marched out of *Rome*, tho' it was only for the Sake of refreshing themselves with the pure and open Air, being apprehensive that they would be followed by all the rest after the first Payment, the Army retired to *Orvieto*, and afterwards near to *Castello della Pieve*, from whence it would have retired further into the Dominions of the *Florentines*, if they would have consented.

Pope appoints a Legate to *Cæsar*.

THE Pestilence had also spread itself into the Castle of *Sant' Angelo*, with great Danger to the Pope's Life, for some of those who served about his Person died of it. Labouring therefore under so many Calamities, and having no Hopes but in the Clemency of *Cæsar*, he appointed for Legate to him, with the Consent of the Generals, *Alessandro Cardinal Farnese*, who, after he had, on this Occasion, got himself out of the Castle and out of *Rome*, refused

refused to go on the Legation. The Ge-
 nerals had a Mind to conduct the Pontiff
 and the thirteen Cardinals that were with
 with him, to *Gaeta*, but by great Diligence,
 Intreaties and Art, he diverted their Re-
 solution.

AT last *Lautrech*, having made the ne-
 cessary Dispatches, set out from Court, on
 the last day of *June*, with Eight Hundred
 Lances, and with the Title, because the
 King was pleased to have it so, of Captain
 General of all the League ; and the King
 of *England*, instead of Ten Thousand
 Foot, was rated to pay, beginning with
June, Thirty Two Thousand Crowns each
 Month, with which were to be paid Ten
 Thousand *German* Foot, under *Vaudemont*,
 a choice Body of Troops, and much ex-
 exercised, having given several Defeats to
 the *Lutherans*. The King of *France*
 hired also *Andrea Doria*, with eight Gal-
 lies, and Thirty Six Thousand Crowns
 each Year.

BUT, before *Lautrech* had passed the
 Mountains, the Troops of the *Venetians*,
 and

A. D. and of the Duke of *Milan*, in conjunction
 1527. advanced to *Marignano*, from whence
Antonio da Leva, marching out of *Milan*
 with Eight Hundred *Spanish* and as many
Italian Foot, and a good Body of Horse,
 constrained them to retire. About the
 same Time the Governor of *Mus*, who
 was taken into the Pay of the King of
France, while he waited on the Lake of
Como for the Coming of the *Swiss*, took
 by Stratagem the Castle of *Monguzzo*, si-
 tuate between *Lecco* and *Como*, in which
 resided *Alessandro Bentivogli*, as in his own
 House. *Antonio da Leva* sent *Lodovico*
da Belgiojoso to recover it, who, after
 storming it in vain, went off to *Moncia*.
 But *Antonio* afterwards, having Notice
 that the Governor was advanced with
 Two Thousand Five Hundred Foot to
Carato a Country Seat fourteen Miles
 distant from *Milan*, returned to that City,
 where leaving only Two Hundred Men,
 tho' the *Venetians* were within ten Miles
 of it, he set out by Night with the rest of
 the Army, and by Sunrise made a sudden
 Attack on the Troops of the Governor,
 which, on hearing the Noise, issued out of
 the

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the Houses, where they quartered, and retired into a Plain surrounded with Hedges near the House, not imagining that all the Enemy's Troops were there; but tho' they put themselves in Order, they were in that low Place, as in a Prison without Defence, taken and killed, except a good Number which fled in the Beginning, on perceiving that the Governor had done the same.

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1527.

Governor
of Mus
routed.

IN the mean time *Cæsar* had, by a Letter from the Great Chancellor, who was come into *Italy* pursuant to his Orders, dated at *Monaco*, received Advice of the Capture of the Pontiff; and tho' in * Words he pretended to be extremely concerned at it, yet it was perceived that in Secret he had been very well pleased with it, nay he did not wholly abstain from shewing extream Marks of his Satisfaction, not having, on this Account, put a Stop to the Rejoicings, begun before, for the Birth of a Son.

Pope's
Misfor-
tune how
taken by
Cæsar.

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Y

BUT

* The Emperor, as soon as he understood that the Pontiff was taken, put on Black in token of Mourning, and made a Show of great Grief. *Tarcagnotta*.

A. D.

1527.

His Liberty
demanded
by the
Kings of
France and
England.

BUT the Deliverance of the Pontiff being most ardently desired by the King of *England*, and by the Cardinal of *York*, and their Authority interesting in it also the King of *France*, who, if he had recovered his Children, would have but little Concern for the Misfortunes of the Pontiff, or of all *Italy*, the two Kings jointly sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar* to demand his Liberty, as a Matter that concerned all the Christian Princes in general, and as due in particular from *Cæsar*, depending on whose Honour, he had, by his Generals, and by his Army, been reduced to such great Misery. At the same time they solicited the Cardinals that were in *Italy* to join with the Ultramontane Cardinals in holding an Assembly at *Avignon*, in order to consult, in so difficult a Juncture, on what was to be done for the Benefit of the Church. But the *Italian* Cardinals, to avoid putting themselves all in the Hands of such powerful Princes, refused, tho' with different Excuses, to repair to *Avignon*. On the other side Cardinal *Salviati*, Legate with
the

the King of *France*, requested by the Pontiff to repair to *Cæsar's* Court, in order to take care of his Affairs at the Coming of Don *Ugo*, who was to go thither according to Agreement in the Treaty, refused to comply, as if it were of pernicious Consequence that so many Cardinals should be in the Power of *Cæsar*. He sent however, by a Gentleman of his Bedchamber, the Instructions he had received from *Rome* to the Auditor of the Chamber, resident with *Cæsar*, in order to treat with him, who put him off with very kind Words, but a varying and uncertain Resolution. *Cæsar* could have wished that the Person of the Pontiff might be conducted into *Spain*; but because it was a Thing in itself full of Scandal, and that he might not offer so great a Provocation to the King of *England*, and also because all the Kingdoms of *Spain*, and especially the Prelates and Lords, highly detested that a *Roman* Emperor, the Protector and Advocate of the Church, should, so greatly to the Dishonour of all Christendom, keep in Prison the Man who represented the Person of Christ on

A. D.
1527.

A. D. 1527. Earth, for these Reasons, after he had given a gracious Answer to the Ambassadors, and, as to the Instances which they made to him for Peace, said he was content that the King of *England* should have the Management of it, which was accepted by them, he sent, on the Third of *August*, the General of the *Franciscans* into *Italy*, and four days after *Veri di Mighiau*, both of them, as it was said, with a Commission to the Viceroy for the Deliverance of the Pope; and the Restitution of all the Towns and Fortresses that had been taken from him. He consented also that, for his Support, his Nuncio should send him a certain Sum of Money raised by Collection in those Kingdoms, which in their Cortes, or Parliaments, had refused to grant Money to *Cæsar*.

Ordered
by *Cæsar*.

ABOUT this Time, towards the End of *July*, the Cardinal of *York*, with Twelve Hundred Horse, passed over to *Calice*. The King of *France*, willing to give him a very favourable Reception, sent the Cardinal of *Lorraine* to meet him ;
and

and after this the King himself, on the ^{A. D.} Third of *August*, went to *Amiens*, into ^{1527.} which *York* the next Day made his Entry with extraordinary Pomp, being the more respected, because he had brought with him Three Hundred Thousand Crowns for occurrent Expences, and to lend to the King of *France*, if he should want it. Here Debates were held between them on Matters relating to Peace and War; and tho' the Views of the King of *France* were different from those of the King of *England*, for he would have left the Pontiff and *Italy* for a Prey to obtain his Children, yet he had been under the Necessity to promise him to make no Agreement with *Cæsar* without the Releasement of the Pontiff. Wherefore, when *Cæsar* had sent the Articles of Peace to the King of *England*, it was answered, in the Name of both the Kings, that they would accept of the Peace with the Restitution of the Children, paying him, at certain Times, two Millions of Ducats, the Freedom of the Pontiff, and of the Ecclesiastic State, the Preservation of all the States and Governments of *Italy* as they

Articles of
Peace sent
by the
Kings to
Cæsar.

were

A. D. 1527. were at present, and, lastly, universal Peace. And it was agreed between them that, on *Cæsar's* Acceptance of these Articles, the Daughter of *England* should be given in Marriage to the Duke of *Orleans*, that the Matrimony of the King with *Cæsar's* Sister might go forward; but if the Peace did not succeed, she should be married to the King. Having sent these Articles, they refused to grant a Pass to a Man whom *Cæsar* asked Leave to send into *France*, answering him, that there needed no more than sending him the said Articles.

On his
rejecting
them War
resolved.

ON *Cæsar's* Refusal to accept these Articles, the Peace and Confederacy between the two Kings was, on the 18th day of *August*, sworn and solemnly published: And they resolved to make a vigorous War in *Italy*, with a View principally to the Deliverance of the Pontiff, but freely intrusting the Manner and Means of prosecuting it to the Skill and Management of *Lautrech*, who, before his Departure, had obtained of his King all the Dispatches he demanded, the King being bent

bent on making a last and as it were definitive Effort. *York* was also willing that the Chevalier *Casale*, who was intrusted with the Thirty Two Thousand Ducats payable each Month, should attend the Camp as Agent for his King, to be certified that the Number of *Germans* was complete. The Management of the War in *Italy* being thus settled, *York* set out on his Return, dispatching away at his Departure the Protonotary *Gambero* to the Pontiff, to advise him to constitute him his universal Vicar in *France*, *England*, and *Germany*, during his Imprisonment.

A. D.

1527.

IN the mean time few Acts of Hostility passed in *Italy*, there being great Expectations of the Coming of *Lautrech*. For the Imperial Army, full of Disorder, and disobedient to their Generals, burdensome to their Friends, and to the conquered Towns, made no Motion, nor gave any Fear to their Enemies. The *Spanish* and *Italian* Infantry, to avoid the Contagion of the Pestilence, were dispersed in Quarters in the Country about *Rome*. The Prince of *Orange*, with One Hundred

A. D.

1527.

and fifty Horse was gone to *Siena*, both to avoid the Plague, and to keep that City firm to the Interest of *Cæsar*, having before sent thither some Foot. For the People of that Place, excited by seditious Heads, had tumultuously plundered the Houses of the Citizens of the *Monte de' Nove*, and massacred *Pietro Borgbesi*, a Citizen of Authority, together with a Son of his, and sixteen or eighteen others.

Tumult at
Siena.

IN *Rome* there remained now only the *Germans*, over-run with the Plague, who having been, with very great Difficulty, satisfied by the Pontiff as to the first Payment of One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Crowns, partly in Money, partly in Bills on the Merchants of *Genoa*, to be paid out of the Tenths of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Sale of *Benevento*, demanded, for the rest of the Money that was due, other Securities, and another Assignment besides the Tax laid on the Ecclesiastic State; Things impossible to the Pontiff, while under Imprisonment. Wherefore, after using many Threatenings with the Hostages, and keeping them in Chains with

with very great Severity, they led them forth, in an ignominious Manner, into the *Campo di Fiore*, where they erected a Gibbet, as if they intended to hang them up immediately. After this they all

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1527.

marched out of *Rome*, without Commanders of any Authority, rather to take the Benefit of the Air, and to refresh themselves, than with a Design to undertake any thing of Importance; and, having plundered the Cities of *Terni* and *Narni*, *Spoletto* agreed to give them Passage and Provisions. Wherefore the Army of the Allies, for the Security of *Perugia*, made a Motion, in order to encamp at *Pontenuovo* beyond that City, having before lain encamped on the Lake of *Perugia*, but much diminished in Number with respect to the Obligations of the Confederates. For the Marquis had three Hundred Lances, three Hundred *French* Archers, three Thousand *Swiss*, and One Thousand *Italian* Foot; and the Duke of *Urbino* had with him Five Hundred Men at Arms, three Hundred Light Horse, one Thousand *German* Foot, and two Thousand *Italians*; the *Venetians* alledging, in their Excuse, that they

Motion of
the Ar-
mies.

A. D. 1527. they fulfilled their Obligation by the Troops which they kept in the Dutchy of *Milan*. The *Florentines* had Eighty Men at Arms, One Hundred and Fifty Light Horſe, and Four Thouſand Foot; being under a Neceſſity of keeping themſelves better provided than the other by their continual Apprehenſions that the Imperial Army would invade *Tuſcany*, on which Account their Troops were regularly paid, which was not the Caſe of the other Forces.

Duke of *Urbino* under Diſpleaſure. BUT the Duke of *Urbino*, beſides his old Difficulties, was under very great Dejection, almoſt to Deſpair, on knowing that the King of *France* and *Lautrech* did not ſpeak honourably of him; but much more becauſe he was in very bad Eſteem with the *Venetians*, who, grown ſuſpicious either of his Fidelity or of his Conſtancy, had ſet a ſtrict Guard over his Wife and Son, who were in *Venice*, that they might not depart without their Leave, and openly condemned his Advice, which was, that *Lautrech* ſhould march towards *Rome* without making any Attempt in *Lombardy*.

THIS

THIS Army therefore lay idle and unactive, in which Situation they took it as a great Favour not to be disturbed by the Imperialists, who advanced no further that Way; but not long after, on receiving of the Marquis *del Guasto*, who was come to the Army, two Crowns each Man, the *Germans*, in no good Harmony with the *Spaniards*, returned to *Rome*, the *Spaniards* and *Italians* remaining in their Quarters extended to *Alviano*, *Tigliano*, *Castiglione della Teverina*, and towards *Bolsena*; but the Forces were so greatly diminished, especially the *Germans*, by the Pestilence, that it was believed *Cæsar* had not in his whole Army above Ten Thousand Foot left.

Cæsar's
Army di-
minished.

BUT before this Departure the Generals of the League did an Act worthy of eternal Infamy: For *Gentile Baglione* being returned to *Perugia* with the Consent of *Oratio*, who, declaring that the Differences between them were pernicious to all, had pretended to be reconciled to him, *Federigo da Bozzolo*, with the Consent of all the Generals,

A. D.

1527.

Infamous
Action.

Generals, went thither to signify to him that, having found out that he held private Correspondence with the Enemy, they had thought fit to secure his Person, though he justified himself, and promised to go to *Castiglione del Lago*, and left him in the Custody of *Gigante Corso*, a Colonel of the *Venetians*. But the same Evening he was murdered with two of his Nephews by some of *Oratio's* Ruffians, and by his Orders, who also about the same time caused another Murder to be committed, out of *Perugia*, on *Galeotto*, the Brother of *Braccio*, and who was also a Nephew of *Gentile*.

The Confederates after this sent some Troops to take Possession of *Camerino*, on Advice that the Duke was dead; but *Sforza Baglione* was already arrived there in the Name of the Imperialists, and afterwards *Sciarra Colonna* entered the Place in Behalf of *Ridolfo* his Son-in-Law, Son of the deceased Duke. After this the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, and *Federigo*, with a good Number of Horse, and one Thousand Foot, made an Assault by night on the Abbey

Abbey of *San Pietro* near *Terni*, in which ^{A. D.} were *Piermaria Rosso* and *Alessandro Vi-* ^{1527.}
telli with Two Hundred Horse, and Four
 Hundred Foot. This Enterprize, tho'
 rash in itself, because the Place was not to
 be taken with such a Garrison without
 Artillery, was yet rendered successful
 either by the Imprudence or Avarice of
 those Officers, who had the same Day
 sent One Hundred and Fifty Harque-
 busiers to pillage a neighbouring Castle,
 and so had left themselves destitute of
 Troops necessary for their Defence; by
 which means, tho' they defended them-
 selves many Hours, they were forced at
 last to yield at Discretion, with Safety
 however to the Persons of *Piermaria* ^{Abbey of}
Rosso and *Alessandro Vitelli*, with their ^{*San Pietro*}
 Effects, these Officers being both wound- ^{taken by}
 ed, one in the Leg, and the other in the ^{the Con-}
 Hand, with Harquebuses. ^{federates.}

AT this time the River *Tiber*, breaking
 its Banks in three or four Places, made
 an Inundation, with very great Damage
 to the Camp of the League, which obliged
 the Generals to return towards *Ascesi*,
 the

A. D. the Imperialists still continuing between
 1527. *Terni* and *Narni*. Afterwards, advancing
 Motion of further, the Duke of *Urbino* took up his
 the Confe- Quarters at *Narni*, the *French* at *Bevagna*,
 derate Ar- and the Black Bands, commanded by
 my. *Oratio Baglione*, Captain General of the
Florentine Infantry, having no Quarters
 assigned them, entered the Town of
Montefalco, and plundered it. Part of
 their Foot afterwards attacked *le Presse*,
 a Castle to which were retired *Ridolfo da*
Varano and *Beatrice* his Wife, who unable
 to defend themselves surrendered at Dis-
 cretion, tho' not long after they recovered
 their Liberty; for *Sciarra*, unable any
 longer to maintain himself in Possession of
Camerino, on account of the Molestation
 he received from the Army of the League,
 made an Agreement to evacuate it, on
 condition of redeeming his Son-in-Law
 and his Daughter. The Marquis of *Sal-*
uzzo and *Federigo* attempted also, with the
French Cavalry and Two Thousand Foot,
 to surprise and strip the *Spanish* Horse
 quartered in *Monte ritondo* and *Lamentano*
 without Guards or Scouts, according to the
 Report of *Mario Orsini*. It was a March
 of

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of three Days, but they proceeded with so little Order that they were discovered, and returned back without doing any Thing, having designed, in order to intercept the Enemy's Flight, to cut at the same time the Bridge of *Teverone*.

NOT much different from these Operations during the whole Summer were those of the Soldiers in *Lombardy*, where the Troops of the *Venetians* and of the Duke having joined together near *Milan*, with an Intention to cut the Corn of that Territory, had routed the Convoy of Provisions, killed One Hundred Foot, and taken Thirty Men at Arms, with Three Hundred serviceable and unserviceable Horses. But they proceeded no farther against the Corn, because the Troops of the *Venetians*, according to their Custom, soon diminished: *Andrea Doria* with his Fleet was retired towards *Savona*, and the *Genoese*, laying hold on that Opportunity, had recovered *Specie*.

BUT the Operations in *Lombardy* began afterwards to grow warm by the Arrival

A. D.
1527.

Campaign
in *Lom-*
bardy un-
active.

A. D.
1527.

Lautrech
arrives in
Piedmont.

rival of *Lautrech* with Part of the Army in *Piedmont*. That General, not to stand idle while he waited for the rest, in the Beginning of *August* laid Siege to the Town of *Bosco* in the Territory of *Alessandria*, which had a Garrison of One Thousand Foot most part *Germans*, who defended themselves with the greatest Obstinacy, because *Lautrech*, provok'd at their having killed some *Swiss*, refused to accept them if they did not yield themselves absolutely to his Discretion; and they received frequent Advices and Encouragements from *Lodovico Lodrone*, who had the Care of defending *Alessandria*, because his Wife and Children were in *Bosco*. At last, being annoyed Night and Day with Artillery, and apprehensive of Mines, after enduring such great Fatigues for ten Days, they submitted to *Lautrech's* Disposal, who made the Officers Prisoners, and spared the Lives of the Soldiers, but on condition that the *Spaniards* returned to *Spain* by the Way of *France*, and the *Germans* to *Germany* through the Country of the *Swiss*, and that each Man, according to the Custom of military Ostentation, should march
out

Takes
Bosco.

out of *Bosco* without Arms, and with a Stick in his Hand; but he freely restored to Count *Lodovico* his Wife and Children.

A. D.
1527.

THIS Acquisition was followed by prosperous Success in the Affairs of *Genoa*: For five Ships, four of them laden with Corn, and the other with Merchandise, being arrived at *Portofino*, bound for *Genoa*, from whence nine Gallies were sailed in order to convoy them safe into that Port, it happened that, on advice of the Approach of *Cesare Fregoso* with Two Thousand Men to *Genoa* by Land, almost all the Men in *Portofino* retired to that City, abandoning the Fleet. This gave an Opportunity to *Andrea Doria* to block them up with his Gallies in the same Port, where the *Genoese*, knowing themselves unable to resist, disarmed the Gallies, and put the Men ashore; so that of the nine Gallies, one being burnt, eight fell into the Hands of the Enemy, together with the Ships laden with Corn, and the Caraque *Giustiniana*, bound from the *Levant*, and said to be worth One Hundred Thousand Ducats. At this Exploit were also assistant some

A. D.

1527.

other *French* Gallies, which, having before taken five Ships laden with Corn, and bound for *Genoa*, had afterwards cast Anchor behind *Codemonte*, between *Portofino* and *Genoa*; and about this time some Foot, lifted by the *Adorni* to be put into *Genoa*, were routed at *Priacroce*, a Place situated among those Mountains. This Misfortune, added to so many other Losses of several Vessels, deprived the *Genoese*, reduced to the last Extremity, of all Hopes of supporting themselves any longer, tho' about the same time *Cesare Fregoso*, who had approached to *San Pietro della Rena*, had been forced to retire. But being more afraid of Famine than of the Forces of the Enemy, and constrained by extreme Necessity, they sent Ambassadors to *Lautrech* to capitulate. *Antoniotto Adorno*, the Doge, retired into the Castelletto; and the Tumults being appeased, chiefly by the Means of *Filippino Doria*, who was a Prisoner there, the City returned under the Dominion of the King of *France*, who appointed *Teodoro da Trivulzi* Governor.

French be-
come Mas-
ters of
Genoa.

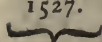
Lautrech

Lautrech after this approached *Alessan-* A. D.
1527.
dria, having in his Army a Body of Eight
Thousand *Swiss*, which continually de-
creased, Ten Thousand Foot of *Pietro*
Navarra, Three Thousand *Gascons*, new-
ly brought into *Italy* by the Baron de
Bearn, and Three Thousand Foot of the
Duke of *Milan*. In *Alessandria* were
Fifteen Hundred Foot, who were much
disheartened by the Loss of the *Germans*
that were in *Bosco*; but Five Hundred
Foot with *Alberigo da Belgiojoso* having af-
terwards entered the City by the neigh-
bouring Hills, they resumed Courage, and
defended themselves bravely. But the
Battery being redoubled in several Places
by the Arrival of the Artillery in the
Army, and of the Troops of the *Vene-*
tians, tho' neither by Land nor by Sea
did they furnish the Quota to which they
were obliged, and the Approaches at the
same time vigorously carried on by means
of Trenches and Mines, according to
the constant Manner of *Pietro Navarra*
in all Sieges, the Garrison was constrain-
ed to surrender, with Safety to their Per-
sons and Effects.

Lautrech
takes *Aless-*
sandria.

A. D.

1527.



The City
left to the
Duke of
Milan.

THE Conquest of *Alessandria* gave Beginning to some Disputes between the Confederates : For *Lautrech* designing to leave Five Hundred Foot in Garrison, that his Troops might at all Events have a sufficient Receptacle, and those which were coming from *France* the Convenience of Assembling, and putting themselves in fresh Order in that City, the Ambassador of the Duke of *Milan*, suspecting that this was the Beginning or First-fruits of his Intentions to seize on that State for his King, opposed it with vehement Words and Protests, and the *Venetian* Ambassador resenting it almost as much as the other, the Ambassador of *England* also interposing in behalf of the Duke, *Lautrech*, tho' with heavy Indignation; yielded to leave the City free to the Duke of *Milan* : A Step which was perhaps of great Prejudice to that Expedition; for many are of Opinion that *Lautrech* attended with more Negligence to the Acquisition of *Milan*, either out of Displeasure, or because he would reserve it for a Time when he could turn it to his own Advantage, without Regard to others.

AFTER

THE WARS IN ITALY. 357

AFTER the Loss of *Alessandria*, it not A. D.
1527. being doubted that *Lautrech* would proceed to make an Attempt either on *Milan* or *Pavia*, it was reported that *Antonio da Leva*, who had One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, and Five Thousand German and Spanish Foot, distrusting his being able to defend *Milan* with so few Troops, and under so many Difficulties, thought of retiring to *Pavia*. But considering the small Stock of Provisions in *Pavia*, and that he could not maintain the Army by Extortions in that City, as he had most rigorously done in *Milan*, he resolved at last to stay where he was, and sent *Lodovico da Belgiojoso* to take upon him the Defence of *Pavia*, and granted to as many of the *Milanesi* as were willing to purchase it with Money Leave to quit the City. But *Lautrech*, tho' much diminished in *Swiss*, proceeding forwards took possession of *Vigevano*, after which laying a Bridge over the *Tesino*, and passing his Army, he took his March towards *Benerola*, a Place four Miles distant from *Milan*, making a show as if he intended, as the *Venetians* advised him, to lay Siege

A. D. 1527. to that City, but in reality resolved to take such Measures as should appear to him most easy to be put in Execution. But receiving Intelligence, when he was advanced within eight Miles of *Milan*, that *Belgiojoso* had the Night before detached thither Four Hundred Foot, so that there remained but Eight Hundred in *Pavia*, he turned his March, and the next Day, which was the Eighth of *September*, arrived at the Monastery of the *Carthusians*, from whence he marched with great Speed, and sat down before *Pavia*, to the Succour of which City *Antonio da Leva* having, as soon as he understood the Resolution of *Lautrech*, sent three Colours of Foot, they were debarred from Entrance, so that from the small Number of Defendants it appeared impossible to make Resistance: And yet *Belgiojoso*, when the People of the City supplicated him to permit them to make a Capitulation, for avoiding the Saccage and Destruction of the Place, refused to hearken to them. But *Lautrech* having continued his Battering four Days, and beat down so much of the Wall that the few Defendants

fendants were insufficient to repair it, at ^{A. D.} length *Belgiojoso* sent to *Lautrech* a Trum- ^{1527.}
 pet, who not being able to speak with him so soon, because he happened to be gone into the Camp of the *Venetians*, the Soldiers approached and entered the Town through the Breaches in the Wall. *Bel-* ^{*Pavia*'}
giojoso seeing this opened the Gate, and ^{taken and}
 went forth and surrendered himself to the ^{sacked.}
French, by whom he was sent Prisoner to *Genoa*. The City was put to the Sack, and the *French* committed great Cruelties in it for Eight Days together, and set Fire to it in many Places, in Memory of the Overthrow they had received in the Park.

AFTER this it was debated whether it was best to undertake the Conquest of ^{Debate on}
Milan, or proceed to wards *Rome*. The *Flo-* ^{further}
rentines insisted on marching forward, out ^{Proceed-}
 of Fear that, if *Lautrech* stopped in *Lom-* ^{ings.}
bardy, the Imperial Army would march out of *Rome*, and fall upon their Territories. But they were contradicted by the *Venetians*, and by the Duke of *Milan*, who came on purpose to *Pavia* to solicit

A. D. 1527. the Enterprife on *Milan*, representing the fair Opportunity that offered for taking that City, and the great Advantage that would result from that Conquest to the Enterprife on *Naples*. For if *Milan* were taken the Imperialists would have no Hopes left of receiving any Succours from *Germany* ; but, while that Door remained open, there would be always Reason to fear that a numerous Army, coming from that Quarter, would either put *Lautrech* in Danger, or divert him from the Expedition of *Naples*. To this it was answered by that General, that he was necessitated to march forwards by the Orders of his King, and of the King of *England*, who had sent him into *Italy* principally for the Deliverance of the Pontiff. To this Resolution it was supposed he might be induced by a Suspicion that, if he acquired the Dutchy of *Milan*, the *Venetians*, reckoning themselves secure from the Danger of *Cæsar's* Greatness, would be negligent in assisting him in the Enterprife on the Kingdom of *Naples*. And perhaps a no less Motive might be the King's imagining it would be of Service to his Affairs that *Francesco Sforza* should

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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should not intirely recover that State, so
that, having it still in his Power to make
an Offer of leaving it in the Hands of
Cæsar, he might the more easily obtain
the Deliverance of his Children by way of
an Agreement, which was continually ne-
gotiated with *Cæsar* by the *French*, *Eng-
lish*, and *Venetian* Ambassadors.

A. D.

1527.

BUT many Difficulties arose in this
Negotiation; for *Cæsar* insisted that the
Cause of *Francesco Sforza* should be tried
at Law, and that, during the Trial, the
whole State should be in his Possession,
promising, at all Events, not to appropriate
it to himself. He demanded that the *Vene-
tians* should pay the Archduke the Re-
mainder of the Two Hundred Thousand
Ducats due to him by the Treaty of *Worms*;
this the *Venetian* Ambassador did not re-
fuse, provided the Archduke fulfilled the
Articles, and restor'd the Places according
to Obligation. He demanded that they
would either restore to their Exiles, accord-
ing to Agreement, One Hundred Thou-
sand Ducats, or assign them a Revenue of
Five Thousand: That they should pay
what

Demands
of *Cæsar*.

A. D. 1527. what they stood indebted to him for the Confederacy made with him, which he would have to be renewed: That they should restore to the Church *Ravenna*, and relinquish all that they possessed in the Dutchy of *Milan*. He demanded of the *Florentines* Thirty Thousand Ducats for Expences undergone, and Losses received by their Non-observance. He consented that the King of *France* should pay the King of *England* for him 450,000 Ducats, for the rest, amounting with the aforesaid, to Two Millions, he demanded Hostages. He desired Twelve Gallies of the King of *France* for his Passage into *Italy*, but did not insist any farther on Horse or Foot; and that, as soon as the Agreement was stipulated, all the *French* Troops should depart out of *Italy*; which the King refused, if his Children were not first restored to him.

Constancy
of *Cæsar*.

THE Loss of *Alessandria* and *Pavia*, which was expected to cause *Cæsar* to moderate those Demands, made him, according to his Custom of not yielding to Difficulties, the more pertinacious; so that
when

THE WARS IN ITALY. 363

when the Auditor of the Chamber came to him on the Fifteenth of *October* from *England* to solicit, in that King's Name, the Deliverance of the Pontiff, he answered, he had taken Care for that by the General, and that, as to the Agreement, he would neither for Love nor Force alter the Conditions which he had first proposed. But it was understood for certain that *Cæsar* was not much inclined to Peace, since there were many Reasons that gave him Encouragement against the Power of his Enemies: For he was confident of making Resistance in *Italy* by the Valour of his Army, and by the Facility of defending the Towns; that he could at any time with little Difficulty procure the Passage of fresh *German* Foot; that the King of *France* and the *Venetians* were exhausted by the long Expences, and that their Provisions, as is customary in Leagues, were interrupted and diminished. He depended on raising Money enough in *Spain*, considering that he maintained the War at a much cheaper Rate than his Adversaries by the Rapines of his Soldiers. He was in Hopes also by some Arts

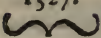
A. D. 1527. Arts to disunite or render more negligent the Confederates. And, in the last place, he promised himself great Matters from his extraordinary Felicity, confirmed by the Experience of many Years, and prognosticated to him by innumerable Predictions even from his Childhood.

Proceed-
ings of
Lautrech.

BUT *Lautrech* at this time was solicitous that the Fleets, which were to attack either *Sicily* or the Kingdom of *Naples*, should proceed forward. That of the *Venetians*, whose Provisions neither by Land nor Sea were equal to their Obligations, was at *Corfu*, and Sixteen Gallies were required to come and join with *Andrea Doria*, who expected in the *Riviera* of *Genoa* *Renzo da Ceri*, who was appointed to command the Fleet for that Enterprize. *Lautrech* after this sent back into *France* Four Hundred Lances, and Three Thousand Foot, and agreed with the *Venetians*, whom he advised to restore *Ravenna* to the College of Cardinals, and with the Duke of *Milan*, that, in order to defend what had been conquered, they should keep their Troops,

with

with whom was *Janus Fregoso* and Count *Gajazzo*, within a Camp strongly fortified at *Landriano*, a Seat about two Miles distant from *Milan*, by the Vicinity of which, the Troops that were in *Milan* being unable to make Excursions abroad, it would be easy, as it was imagined, to defend *Pavia*, *Moncia*, *Biagrassa*, *Marignano*, *Vigevano*, and *Alessandria*. Having settled these Matters, *Lautrech* with Fifteen Hundred *Swiss*, as many *Germans*, and Six Thousand *French* and *Gascons*, on the Eighteenth of *October*, passed the *Po* ^{He passed the *Po*.} over against *Castel San Giovanni*, with an Intention to wait for the *German* Foot, of which but a small Part was as yet arrived, and another Party of Foot of the same Nation, which the King of *France* had sent to enlist in the Room of the *Swiss*, who were in a manner all gone off. From this Place he was necessitated to order *Pietro Navarra* to return over the *Po*, with the *Gascon* and *Italian* Foot to the Relief of *Biagrassa*, to which Town, being in the Custody of the Duke of *Milan*, *Antonio da Leva*, understanding that it was ill provided, had on the Twenty Eighth

A. D. Eighth of *October* laid Siege with Four
 1527.  Thousand Foot, and Six Pieces of Canon, and having obtained it the second Day by Agreement was preparing to pass into the *Lomellina* to recover *Vigevano* and *Novara*; but, on Advice of the Coming of *Pietro Navarra* with a greater Force, he returned to *Milan*; so that *Navarra* easily recovered *Biagrassa*, which *Francesco Sforza* took Care to get better provided.

Reasons of Lautrech's Slowness. *Lautrech* now manifestly appeared to delay on purpose his Departure; and tho' he alledged that he had been detained in expectation of the *German* Foot, with a Part of whom *Vaudemont* was at length arrived, and the rest were expected, and complained of the slender Provisions of the *Venetians* in all respects, yet it was doubted that the Expectation of Money from *France* had been the Cause. But the true and more cogent Reason was that the King, in Hopes of Peace, which was under close Negotiation with *Cæsar*, had given him Orders that, dissembling this Cause, he should proceed slowly. Hence
 also

also it proceeded that the King had not been ready to pay his Share of the *Germans* ^{A. D. 1527.} that had been hired in the Room of the *Swiss*, nor those who were first appointed to come with *Vaudemont*.

WITH these either Necessities or Excuses *Lautrech* taking up his Quarters in *Piacenza*, while the Army encamped between *Piacenza* and *Parma*, the Difficulties which had obstructed an Accommodation with the Duke of *Ferrara* were removed. *Lautrech* had, as soon as he arrived in *Italy*, earnestly solicited him to enter into the Confederacy; a Step, which on one hand the Duke was desirous of taking on account of the Affinity proposed to him with the King of *France*, but on the other retained by the Distrust which he had of the Valour of the *French*, and a Jealousy that the King at last, to recover his Children, would come to an Agreement with *Cæsar*. Intimidated however by the Menaces of *Lautrech* he had demanded that the Affair should be negotiated at *Ferrara*, because in a Business that so nearly concerned him he was willing to have the Manage-

A. D. Management of it himself. Wherefore

1527.

the Ambassadors of all the Confederates repaired to *Ferrara*, as did also Cardinal *Cibo* in the Name of the Cardinals assembled at *Parma*, where the Duke, induced by the Progress of *Lautrech*, after he had endeavoured to convince General *George* and *Andrea di Burgo*, who were very honourably entertained by him at *Ferrara*, of the Necessity he was under of coming to an Agreement, at last agreed, but on Conditions which demonstrated either his Industry, or his great Knowledge in Negotiation, and that he had not in vain solicited to have the Treaty debated in his Presence, or else the great Desire that the other had to draw him into the Confederacy. He entered into it with an Obligation to pay every Month, for six Months successively, from Six Thousand to Ten Thousand Crowns, according to the Arbitration of the King of *France*, who afterwards settled it at Six Thousand, and to furnish *Lautrech* with One Hundred Men at Arms paid by himself. On the other side the Confederates obliged themselves to protect him and his State; to give him

Co-

Duke of
Ferrara
enters in-
to the
League.

Cotignuola, which the *Venetians* had a little before taken from the *Spaniards*, in exchange for the antient and almost uninhabited City of *Adria*, which he demanded with Importunity; to cause Restitution to be made to him of the Palaces which he formerly possessed in *Venice* and *Florence*; to give him Leave to wrest from *Alberto Pio* the Fortrefs of *Novi*, situate near the Borders of the *Mantouan*, and at that time besieged by him; to pay him the Revenues of the Archbishopric of *Milan*, if the Imperialists should be troublesome, and obstruct the Payment to the Archbishop his Son. Cardinal *Cibo*, in the Name of the Cardinals, who promised the Ratification of the College, obliged the Pontiff to renew the Investiture of *Ferrara*, to renounce the Rights to *Modena* acquired by the Purchase of it from *Maximilian*; to annul the Obligation of Salts; to consent to the Protection of the Duke undertaken by the Confederates; to promise, by virtue of Apostolic Bulls, to leave him and his Successors in free Possession of all that he possessed; and that the Pontiff should make his Son a Cardinal, and confer on

A. D. him the Bishopric of *Modena*, vacant by
 1527. the Death of Cardinal *Rangone*. This Con-
 federacy was bound with the Tye of Affi-
 nity, by the Marriage of *Renée*, the Daugh-
 ter of King *Lewis*, to *Ercole*, the Duke's
 eldest Son, with the Dutchy of *Chartres*
 in Dowry, besides other honourable Con-
 ditions. The Marquis of *Mantoua* also,
 at the Sollicitations of *Lautrech* entered in-
 to the Confederacy, tho' he was before in
 the Service and Pay of *Cæsar*.

As also
 the Mar-
 quis of
Mantoua

Situation
 of the Ar-
 mies.

BUT the Army of the Confederates
 was much weakened, and remained many
 Days unactive between *Foligno*, *Montefal-
 co*, and *Bevagna*: And the Duke of *Ur-
 bino*, understanding that his Wife and Son
 were under Custody in *Venice*, set out Post
 from the Camp, without Orders from the
 Senate, in a great Hurry, to go and justify
 himself; but, on receiving Advice on the
 Road of their being set at Liberty, and
 that the Senate, being satisfied with him,
 desired he would proceed no further, he
 returned to the Army; where the *Swiss*
 and the Marquis's Foot received no Pay,
 and the *Venetians*, neither here nor in

Lem-

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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
Lombardy, where they were obliged to keep Nine Thousand Foot, ever kept the third Part. The Troops retired afterwards into the Territory of *Todi*, and the adjacent Parts; and the *Spaniards* at the End of *November* lay about *Corneto* and *Toscannella*, and the *Germans* at *Rome*, whither the Prince of *Orange* was returned from *Siena*, where he had spent a short time in fruitless Endeavours to restore Order to that Government. And it is not doubted that, if the Imperial Army had made a Motion forwards, the Duke of *Urbino*, and the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, would have retired with the Army under the Walls of *Florence*, tho' they used to talk in a boasting manner that, in order to stop their Passage into *Tuscany*, they would post themselves either in *Orvieto* and *Viterbo*, or in the Territory of *Siena* towards *Chiusi* and *Sartiano*.

BUT *Lautrech*, though the German Lautrech's Projects. Foot were now arrived, proceeding, on account of the Expectations from the Treaty of Peace, with his usual Slowness, had taken up his Residence in *Parma*. And

A. D. yet, tho' that City and *Piacenza* with their
 1527. Citadels were wholly at his Devotion, and
 he had collected from both these Cities
 and their Territories about Fifty Thousand
 Ducats, it was believed that he had a De-
 sign not only to keep in his Power *Parma*
 and *Piacenza*, but, in order to render *Bo-*
logna dependent on the King's Authority,
 to transfer the Lordship of that City into
 the Family of the *Pepoli*.

THESE Designs however were render-
 ed abortive by the Deliverance of the Pon-
 tiff, to which tho' it did not at first appear
 that *Cæsar* would readily condescend, be-
 cause he had delayed, above a Month af-
 ter the News of his Captivity, to take any
 Resolution about it, yet, apprised afterwards
 of the Arrival of *Lautrech* in *Italy*, and
 the Eagerness of the King of *England* for
 a War, he had dispatched the General of
 the *Franciscans*, and *Veri di Migliau* with
 Orders on that Head to the Viceroy; who
 dying at *Gaeta* about the time that the
 General arrived, it was necessary to treat
 of the Affair with Don *Ugo di Moncada*,
 to whom also extended the Commission of
Cæsar,

Cæsar, and whom the Viceroy had substituted in his Room, till a new Appointment to the Administration of the Kingdom of *Naples* came from *Spain*. The General, after conferring with Don *Ugo*, took his Way to *Rome*, accompanied by *Migliau*, who had come from *Spain* with the same Commission as the General. This ^{Debate on releasing the Pontiff} Affair comprehended two principal Articles; one, that the Pontiff should satisfy the Army in a Debt of a very large Sum of Money; the other concerned the Security of *Cæsar*, that the Pontiff, when set at Liberty, might not fall off and adhere to his Enemies: And, for the Observance of this Article were proposed hard Conditions of Hostages, and of Security of Towns. By those Difficulties the Debate was prolonged, and to facilitate it the Pontiff had often solicited, and was now continually, tho privately, soliciting *Lautrech* to advance forwards, declaring that it was his Intention to promise nothing to the Imperialists, unless forced; and that, in such a Case, when he was once out of Prison, he would observe nothing as soon as he could convey himself into a Place of Security, which he would endeavour to accomplish as little to

A. D. 1527.  their Convenience as possible; and, if he should come to an Agreement, he begged that Compassion on his Misfortunes and Necessities might make his Excuse. But, while these Things were under Debate, the Hostages at the End of *November* fled secretly out of *Rome*, to the vast Indignation of the *Germans*.

Pope's
Enemies.

TEDIOUS were the Disputes on this Affair, those whose Business it was to determine them not agreeing in the same Opinion: For Don *Ugo*, though he had sent *Serenon* his Secretary, in company with others, to *Rome*, yet, out of the Malignity of his Nature, and his Aversion to the Pontiff, had but little Inclination to a Composition; on the contrary, the General was eager for it, from a Desire of being made a Cardinal. *Migliau* opposed it as pernicious to *Cæsar's* Interest, and when he could not prevail went away for *Naples*, where he afterwards suffered the Punishment of his Impiety, being killed in a Skirmish at the Beginning of the Siege with a Shot of a Harquebus.

NOR

NOR was the Pontiff wanting to himself, for he drew over to his Interest *Geronimo Morone*, whose Counsel was of great Authority with the Imperialists in all Deliberations, conferring the Bishopric of *Modena* on his Son, and promising him certain Stores of Corn which he had at *Corneto*, worth above Twelve Thousand Ducats. But he was no less industrious in gaining the Favour of Cardinal *Colonna*, promising him the Legateship of the *Marca*, and professing to him, when, after his Arrival at *Rome*, he came to pay him a Visit in the Castle, that he desired to be principally obliged to him for so great a Benefit; artfully also instilling into his Ears a Notion that he could not wish for greater Glory, or greater Felicity, than to make it known to all the World, that it was in his Power to depress Pontiffs, and in his Power, when they were humbled to the Dust, to raise them, and restore them to their pristine Grandeur. This Cardinal, who was very lofty and vainglorious by Nature, moved by such Insinuations and Professions, readily promoted the Release-

He makes Friends.

ment,

A. D.
1527.

ment, imagining that it was as easy for the Pontiff, when set at Liberty, to forget so many Injuries, as it had been, when a Prisoner, most humbly to recommend to him with Prayers and Tears his Deliverance.

Reasons
for his
Deliver-
ance.

THESE Difficulties were in some measure removed by the new Commission from *Cæsar*, who gave positive Orders that the Pontiff should be released as much to his Satisfaction as possible; adding that it was sufficient for him if the Pontiff, after his Deliverance, did not adhere less to him than to the Confederates. But it is believed that no other Consideration so much promoted the Affair as the Necessity incumbent on the Generals, from the Apprehensions of the Coming of *Lautrech*, to lead that Army to the Defence of the Kingdom of *Naples*: A Thing impossible if the Troops were not first secured of their Arrears, in recompense of which they would not admit so much Plunder, and such great Gains as they had made in the same Time; this Necessity of providing for the Payments was also the Reason why less

Care

THE WARS IN ITALY. 377

Care was taken to have Security of the Pontiff for the Time to come. A. D. 1527.

A T length after a long Negotiation, on the last Day of *October*, the Agreement^{He is set at Liberty} was concluded in *Rome*, with the General of the *Franciscans*, and with *Screnon* in the Name of *Don Ugo*, who afterwards ratified it. The Pope, by this Convention, was to take no Part against *Cæsar* in the Affair of *Milan* and *Naples*: He was to grant him the Croisade in *Spain*, and a Tenth of the Ecclesiastical Revenues in all his Kingdoms: For securing of his Observance *Ostia*, and *Civita vecchia*, which City *Andrea Doria* had before evacuated, were to remain in the Hands of *Cæsar*; to whom also he was to resign *Civita Castellana*, which Town, *Mario Perusco*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer*, being entered into the Citadel, by very secret Orders of the Pontiff, tho' he pretended the contrary, had refused to admit the Imperialists; he was to resign also the Citadel of *Forli*: For Hostages he was to deliver *Ippolito* and *Alessandro* his Nephews, and till they came from *Parma*, the Cardinals *Pisano*, *Trivulzio*,

* *Procuratore Fiscale.*

A. D. *vulzio*, and *Gaddi*, who were conducted by
 1527. the Soldiers into the Kingdom of *Naples* :
 He was obliged to pay immediately to
 the *Germans* Seventy Seven Thousand
 Ducats, and to the *Spaniards* Thirty-five
 Thousand, on condition that they would
 leave him at Liberty with all the Cardi-
 nals, and march out of *Rome* and out of
 the Castle ; deeming himself at Liberty
 whenever he should be conducted in Safe-
 ty to *Orvieto*, *Spoletto*, or *Perugia* : Within
 a Fortnight after his Departure from *Rome*
 he was to pay another like Sum to the
Germans, and the rest, which, with the
 aforesaid Sum, amounted to above Three
 Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats, he
 was to pay, within three Months after, to
 the *Germans* and *Spaniards* according to
 their respective Shares.

Pope's
 Ways of
 raising
 Money.

FOR Observance of these Conditions the
 Pontiff, having recourse to those Means
 for his coming out of Prison which he
 could not be induced to employ for pre-
 venting his Entrance into it, created some
 Cardinals for Money, Persons for the most
 part unworthy of so great an Honour. For

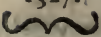
further

further Supplies he granted the Tenth^s in the Kingdom of *Naples*, with Power to alienate the Goods of the Church; what was dedicated to the Worship of God being converted, by Grant from the Vicar of Christ, so deep are the Divine Judgments! to the Use and Maintenance of Heretics. By such Means having settled and secured the Payments at the promised Terms, he gave also as Hostages for the Security of the Soldiers the Cardinals *Cesio* and *Orsino*, who were conducted by Cardinal *Colonna* to *Grottaferrata*.

THE Pontiff having dispatched all these Affairs, and the Ninth Day of *December* being appointed for the *Spaniards* to conduct him into a Place of Security, apprehensive of some Variation on account of the ill Will which he knew Don *Ugo* bore towards him, and of every other Accident that might possibly intervene, in the Night before, as soon as it was dark, secretly went out of the Castle in the Habit of a Merchant, and was by *Luigi da Gonzaga*, in the Service of the Imperialists, who with a large Company of Harquebut-
fiers

A. D.
1527.

Gets privately out
of the
Castle.

A. D. 1527.  fiers waited for him in the Meadows, accompanied as far as *Montefiascone*, where dismissing almost all the Soldiers *Luigi* himself attended him to *Orvieto*, into which City he entered by Night, not one of the Cardinals accompanying him. An Example certainly very remarkable, and perhaps such as had never been seen since the Church became great: A Pontiff fallen from so great a Height of Power and Reverence, confined in a Prison, *Rome* lost, and all the State of the Church reduced under the Power of Strangers; the same Pontiff in the Space of a few Months restored to Liberty, the State that had been seized left free to him, and in a very short Time after resuming his former Grandeur. So great with Christian Princes is the Authority of the Pontificate, and the Respect universally paid it!

Proceed-
ings in
the *Mila-*
nese.

AT this Time *Antonio da Leva* sent out of *Milan* the *Spanish* and *Italian* Foot to provide themselves with Victuals, and to recover the weaker Places of the Country, and that they might also open a convenient Way for the Conveyance of Provisions

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381

visions to *Milan*; these Troops possessed themselves of that Part of the Territory of *Milan* which is called *Sepri*. He also ordered out *Filippo Torniello* with Twelve Hundred Foot, and some Horse for *Novara*, in which City were Four Hundred Foot of the Duke of *Milan*. *Torniello* entered the Town through the Castle, which had always held out for *Cæsar*, made himself Master of it with little Opposition, disarmed the Foot, and sent them back to their Habitations, and remained himself in *Novara* for scouring the circumjacent Country. Part of the *German* Foot were bestowed in *Arona*, and the rest in *Mortara*, and the Duke having reinforced them with some other Foot, for the Defence of the *Lomellina*, and of the Country, *Torniello* was not at Liberty to extend his Quarters to any considerable Distance, so that no Actions happened that Winter but frequent Skirmishes, all Parties employing themselves in robbing their Friends as well as Enemies, to the utter Desolation of the whole Country.

ABOUT

A. D.

1527.

Confederates Fleet
dispersed
by a
Storm.

ABOUT this Time also *Andrea Doria*, with his own and fourteen *French* Gallies, joined sixteen Gallies of the *Venetians* at *Livorno*, and, having taken on board *Renzo da Ceri* with Three Thousand Foot in order to make a Descent, on the Thirteenth of *November* set sail from that Port. And tho' it had at first been resolved to attack the Island of *Sicily*, they altered their Resolution, and steered away for *Sardinia*, with a Design to make an Attempt on that Island, induced, as it was supposed, by the Persuasions of *Andrea Doria*, whose Brain was perhaps teeming with new Projects; and *Lautrech* consented to this Enterprize in hopes that the Conquest of *Sardinia* would greatly facilitate the Acquisition of *Sicily*. Whatever was the Cause, the Gallies met with very tempestuous Weather, and were dispersed over the Sea. One of the *French* Gallies was cast away near the Coast of *Sardinia*; four Gallies of the *Venetians*, much distressed, returned to *Livorno*; the *French* Gallies were driven by the Violence of the Winds into *Corfica*, from whence they afterwards joined four *Venetian* Gallies

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lies in *Porto Vecchio*, the other Eight of A. D. 1527. the *Venetians* in a shattered Condition putting back into *Livorno*. At last the Undertaking was laid aside, great Differences remaining between *Andrea Doria* and *Renzo da Ceri*.

BUT *Lautrech*, who, when he was in *Reggio*, received Advice of the Releasement of the Pontiff, left the Citadel of *Parma* to the Ecclesiastic Officers, and proceeded to *Bologna*. In this City he stopped in Expectation of the last German Foot, who in five Days after arrived in the *Bolognese*, not in Number Six Thousand, as had been designed, but only Three Thousand. He sojourned however twenty Days in *Bologna*, waiting Advice from the King of *France* of the ultimate Resolution on the Negotiation of Peace, and in the mean time soliciting with utmost Earnestness the Pontiff, seconded also by the Authority of the King of *England*, to declare openly for the Confederates.

THE Pontiff, a few Days after his Arrival at *Orvieto*, was visited and congratulated Pope's Proceed- ings at Orvieto.

A. D. 1527. lated by the Duke of *Urbino*, the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, *Federigo da Bozzolo*, who died a few Days after a natural Death at *Todi*, and *Luigi Pisano*, the *Venetian* Proveditor, and had requested them with the greatest Instances to remove their Troops from the Ecclesiastic State, assuring them that the Imperialists had promised him to evacuate the State of the Church, provided the Army of the Confederates would do the same. He had written also a Brief to *Lautrech*, thanking him for the Services he had done towards his Deliverance, and for advising him to get himself released at any Rate; acknowledging that these Services had been of so great Moment to constrain the Imperialists to come to a Determination, that he pretended himself no less obliged to the King and to him than if he had been delivered by their Arms, the Progress of which he would willingly have expected, had he not been bound by Necessity, because the Conditions proposed to him were continually altered for the worse, and because he was plainly convinced there was no other Way to obtain his Liberty but by means of an Agreement, which

which the more he deferred, the more the Authority and State of the Church went to Ruin; but what above all moved him, was the Hopes that he should be so happy as to become a seasonable Instrument for promoting the common Good with his King, and the other Christian Princes. These were at first his Expressions, which seemed full of Sincerity and Simplicity, and such as were becoming the Pontifical Office, and especially a Pontiff who had received such grave and severe Admonitions from God.

A. D.

1527.

RETAINING however his accustomed Nature, and his Prison not having taught him to divest himself of his Craftiness nor Covetousness, on the Arrival, in the Beginning of the Year 1528, of some Agents dispatched by *Lautrech* and *Gregorio da Casale*, Ambassador of the King of *England*, to require him to confederate with the others, he began to amuse them with various Answers, sometimes giving them Hopes, sometimes excusing himself, and protesting that, having neither Money, nor Men, nor Authority, his Declaration

1528.

His crafty
and eva-
sive An-
swers.

A. D. 1528. could be of no Service to them, and yet might be prejudicial to himself, since it would give Cause to the Imperialists to molest him in many Places; sometimes giving Hopes that he should be willing to satisfy their Demand, if *Lautrech* proceeded forwards; which he greatly wanted, that the *Germans* might be necessitated to depart from *Rome*, where they lay consuming the Reliques of that wretched City, and all the circumjacent Country, and having cast off all Obedience to their Officers, and often engaged in Tumults among themselves, refused to leave the Place, demanding more Money and Payments.

BUT at the End of the preceding Year, and much more in the Beginning of this, it began manifestly to appear that the Negotiations of Peace would be fruitless, and that the Animosities between the Princes were the more exasperated by them. For when almost all Difficulties were removed, since *Cæsar* did not refuse the Dutchy of *Milan* to *Francesco Sforza*, and to compound with the *Venetians*, *Florentines*,

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rentines, and the rest of the Confederates, the only Dispute was, which ought first to be put in Execution, either the Departure of the Army of the King of *France* out of *Italy*, or the Restitution of the Children. The King denied to oblige himself to remove the Army from *Italy* before he had recovered his Children, but he offered to put Hostages into the Hands of the King of *England*, for Security of the Observance of the Penalties to which he obliged himself, if he did not, immediately after the Recovery of the Children, recal the Army. *Cæsar* insisted on the contrary, offering the same Cautions in the Hands of the King of *England*; and it being disputed which had most Reason to trust the other, *Cæsar* said he could put no Trust in a Person wha had once deceived him; to which it was answered, by the *French* Ambassadors, that the more he pretended himself deceived by the King of *France*, the less Reason had the King of *France* to put any Trust in him; nor was the Offer of *Cæsar* to put the same Security in the Hands of the King of *England* which the King of *France*

A. D.

1528.

Great and
sole Diffi-
culty
prevent-
ing Peace.

A. D.

1528.

offered to put an equal Offer, because it was not also an equal Case, since what *Cæsar* promised to do was of so much greater Moment, that what the King of *France* promised, and therefore required a greater Security. They added, in the last place, that the Ambassadors of the King of *England*, who had a Commission from their King to oblige him to enforce the Observance of what the King of *France* promised, had no Commission to oblige him for the Observance of what *Cæsar* might promise; and that their Powers being limited, and their Time prefixed, they could neither exceed nor wait. On this Dispute there was no coming to a Resolution, because *Cæsar* had not the same Inclination to Peace that his Council had, persuading himself that if he should lose *Naples* he might have it back again by the Restitution of the Children; and the Great Chancellor, who was long before returned into *Spain*, was strongly charged with perplexing the Negotiations of Peace with Points of Law, and sophistical Interpretations.

A T

AT last the *French* and *English* Ambassadors resolved, pursuant to the Orders which they had in case of Despair of an Agreement, to demand of *Cæsar* Leave to depart, and after that immediately to denounce War. With this Resolution on the Twenty-first of *January* the *English* Ambassadors, followed by the Ambassadors of the *Venetians*, of the Duke of *Milan*, and of the *Florentines*, appeared before *Cæsar* then residing with the Court at *Burgos*, and the *English* Ambassadors demanded of him the Four Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats lent him by their King, Six Hundred Thousand for the Penalty he had incurred by the Repudiation of the Daughter of *England*, and Five Hundred Thousand for the Pensions of the King of *France*, and other Pretences. These things being proposed for the greater Justification, all the Ambassadors of the Allies demanded his Leave to depart. To this he answered, that he would consult with his Council what was fit to be done, but it was necessary that, before their Departure, his own Ambassadors also

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1528.

*France
and Eng-
land de-
clare War
against
Cæsar.*

should be in a Place of Security. The Ambassadors were no sooner gone out than the Heralds of the King of *France* and of the King of *England* entered, and made a Declaration of War. *Cæsar* accepted it with a joyful Heart, and then ordered that the Ambassadors of the King of *France*, of the *Venetians*, and of the *Florentines* should be conducted to a Country Seat thirty Miles from Court, where they were put under a Guard of Archers and Halberdiers, and forbidden all Correspondence and the Liberty of Writing ; to the Ambassador of the Duke of *Milan* he gave Orders, as to his Subject, not to leave the Court ; as to the *English* Ambassador no Innovation was made.

*Lautrech
proceeds
for Naples*

ALL Negotiations of Peace being thus broken off, the Parties breathed nothing but War, which had its Seat and Management solely in *Italy*. Here *Lautrech*, then, stimulated by his King, but much more by the King of *England*, after the Hopes of Peace began to diminish, had, on the Ninth of *January*, set out from *Bologna*, and directed his March towards the Kingdom

of

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of *Naples*, by the Way of *Romagna* and the *Marca* ; a Way chosen by him after much Consultation, contrary to the Instances of the Pontiff, who was desirous to take the Opportunity of his Passage for re-establishing *Fabio Petrucci*, and the *Monte de' Nove* in *Siena* ; and also to the Sollicitations of the *Florentines*, who intreated him to take that Road, that his Army might be more at hand to succour them, if the Imperialists, in order to make a Diversion, should put themselves in Motion to invade *Tuscany*. But *Lautrech* chose rather to enter the Kingdom of *Naples* by the Way of the *Tronto*, because it was a Road more convenient for Conveyance of the Artillery, and abounded more with Provisions, and because he would not give an Opportunity to the Enemy to make Head at *Siena*, or in any other Place, being desirous to enter the Kingdom of *Naples* before he met with any Obstacle.

BUT, as soon as *Lautrech* moved from *Bologna*, *Giovanni da Sassatello* restored the Castle of *Imola* to the Pontiff, which

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1528.

Affairs of
the Pope.

A. D.
1528.

he had seized while he was a Prisoner; and, when *Lautrech* afterwards approached *Rimini*, *Sigismondo Malatesta*, Son of *Pandolfo*, agreed with him to restore that City to the Pontiff, on condition that he obliged himself to let his Mother enjoy her Dowry, to give his unmarried Sister Six Thousand Ducats, and to assign a yearly Revenue of Two Thousand Ducats between him and his Father; and that *Sigismondo* should immediately depart out of *Rimini*, leaving his Father there, till the Pontiff had ratified the Agreement; and that, in the mean time, the Castle should remain in the Hands of *Guido Rangone*, his Captain, who entered into Pay with the King of *France*, and followed *Lautrech* to the War. But the Pontiff delaying to fulfil these Engagements, *Sigismondo* repossessed himself again of the Castle, not without grievous Complaints of the Pontiff against *Guido Rangone*, as if he had given him tacit Permission, nor without some Suspicion also that *Lautrech* and the *Venetians* had consented to it, as desirous to keep him under continual Difficulties; the *Venetians*, in particular, on account of *Ra-*

Reasons
for his
Jealousy
of *Lau-
trech* and
the *Vene-
tians*.

venna,

venna, which the Pontiff having, as soon as he was delivered from the Castle, sent the Archbishop of *Siponte* to demand of that Senate, had received a general Answer, in which they referred themselves to what *Gasparo Contareno*, whom they had appointed Ambassador to him, should declare to him on that Subject. For, tho' they had at first protested that they retained it for the Apostolic See, yet they were quite averse to restoring it, induced as well by public as private Interest, since that City lay very convenient for enlarging their Empire in *Romagna*, abounded itself in Corn, and by the Fertility of the neighbouring Country afforded Opportunities for exporting yearly vast Quantities for *Venice*, and many of the *Venetians* had large Estates in that Territory. As to *Lautrech*, he entertained some Jealousy of him, because that General, besides using many Sollicitations before, having, since his Departure from *Bologna*, dispatched to him *Vaudemont*, Captain General of all the *German* Foot, together with *Longueville* commissioned by the King, to make very close Instances with him

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1528.

A. D.
1528.

him to declare against *Cæsar*, especially since he could now do it with Security, by the Approach of the *French* Army, had not been able to prevail with him, the Pontiff not expressly denying, but delaying, and making Excuses. On this Occasion he had offered the King of *France* to give his Consent, on condition that the *Venetians* would restore to him *Ravenna*; a Condition which he knew well could take no Effect, as the *Venetians* were not to be induced to it by the Persuasions of the King, and it did not suit with the Times for the King to provoke the Enmity of the *Venetians* to satisfy the Pontiff. To this was added his Refusal also to give Ear to the Sollicitations of *Lautrech* for his ratifying the Agreement made with the Duke of *Ferrara*, alledging that it was a Thing very unworthy to give his Approbation, when he was alive, to Conventions made in his Name while he was dead; he would not however refuse to make an Agreement with him. Hence the Duke of *Ferrara*, taking that Occasion, made a Difficulty, though he was received into the Protection of the King
of

of *France* and the *Venetians*, of sending to *Lautrech* the Hundred Men at Arms, and paying the Money he had promised, as one, who, doubting the Issue of Affairs, was careful not to adhere so closely to the King of *France*, as to leave himself no Room at all Events to make his Peace with *Cæsar*, to whom he had excused himself from his Necessities, and continued to entertain *George Fronsperg*, and *Andrea di Burgo* at *Ferrara*.

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THIS however did not prevent *Lautrech* from proceeding with the Army, with which, on the Tenth of *February*, he arrived at the River *Tronto*, which separates the Ecclesiastic State from the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Lautrech* arrives on the Frontiers of *Naples*.

BUT in *France*, when the King was informed that his Ambassador was detained, he ordered the Ambassador of *Cæsar* to be confined in the Chatelet of *Paris*, and all the Merchants that were Subjects of *Cæsar* throughout *France* to be detained. The same was done by the King of *England* with respect to *Cæsar's* Ambassador, *Cæsar's* Ambassador detained in *France*.

A. D. 1528. { dor, but as soon as he understood his own was not detained he set him at Liberty.

Kings de-
bate on
the Seat
of War.

Now the War being proclaimed in *France, England, and Spain*, the King of *France* insisted on beginning a War jointly in *Flanders*, as a Prelude to which he had made Incursions into that Country with some of his Troops, and carried off Spoils, the People of *Flanders* making no Movement on that account, but only to defend themselves, because Lady *Margaret*, endeavouring to avoid as much as possible all Occasions of entering into a War with the King of *France*, did not suffer her Men to march out of their Country. But the King of *England* was very loth to have War with the People of *Flanders*; for, tho' certain Towns, before promised him by *Cæsar* as Security for Money lent, were, as soon as they should be conquered, to be resigned to him, yet it would be very prejudicial to his Revenues, and to his Kingdom, to interrupt the Commerce of his Merchants in that Province; but not knowing how openly to refuse it, on account of the Convention, he deferred

it

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it as long as he could, alledging that, by A. D. 1528.
the Articles of that Obligation, it was
lawful for him to delay Forty Days after
the Declaration of War, in order to give
the Merchants Time to withdraw with
their Effects. The Most Christian King
knowing this was his Will, and the Oc-
casion of it, treated with him about at-
tacking, instead of *Flanders*, the maritime
Parts of *Spain* with a good Fleet, the King
of *France* affirming that he held Intelli-
gence with those People.

THESE Debates at last occasioned the
King of *England* to send the Bishop of
Bath into *France*, to persuade that King
to lay aside all Enterprises beyond the
Mountains, and to increase his Forces, and
push on the War in *Italy*; by whose
Counsel and Encouragements it came to
pass that, for the Space of the Eight ensu-
ing Months, Hostilities were suspended be-
tween the Kings of *France* and *England*,
and the Country of *Flanders*, with the o-
ther circumjacent States subject to *Cæsar*.
That the King of *France* might the more
easily condescend to this Agreement, the
King

A. D.

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Italy de-
fined the
sole Seat
of the
War.

King of *England* obliged himself to pay Thirty Thousand Ducats, every Month, for the War in *Italy*, by which was satisfied the Contribution before promised for Six Months.

BUT as the Preparations for War were thus continually increasing, so likewise were the Animosities more and more kindled between the Princes, who took all Occasions to affront one another, and to contend no less in Spirit and Emulation than with Arms. For *Cæsar* having about two Years before in *Granada*, at the Time when Peace was in like manner treated of between him and the King of *France*, said to the President of *Grenoble*, the King's Ambassador, certain Words, which imported that, in order to prevent Christian People and so many innocent Persons from suffering any longer under the bad Effects of their Differences, he would freely decide the Controversy with him by single Combat; and since that repeated to the Herald, when he had last denounced the War to him the same Words, adding moreover that his King had behaved scurvily,

vily, and been false to his Word ; the King of *France* being informed of the Expressions, and imagining he could not pass them over in Silence with Safety to his Honour, though the Challenge would perhaps have been more becoming between simple Knights than between two such Princes, convoked, on the Twenty-seventh of *March*, in a very large Hall of his Palace at *Paris*, all the Great Men, all the Ambassadors, and the whole Court ; after which, presenting himself to the Assembly in all the Pomp and Splendor of the most sumptuous Apparell, and attended with a glittering Train, he went and placed himself in the Royal Seat, and ordered the Ambassador of *Cæsar* to be called, who, because it had been determined that he should be conducted to *Bayonne*, and set at Liberty at the same time with the Ambassadors of the Confederates, who for that Purpose were on their way to *Bayonne*, demanded his Dismission. The King spoke, excusing himself by alledging that *Cæsar* having, by a new and barbarous Example, detained his Ambassadors and those of his Confederates, had been the principal Cause

that

A. D.

1528.

A. D. that he had been also detained. But since
1528.

he was now to go to *Bayonne*, that Liberty might be given to all at the same Time, he desired him to carry to *Cæsar* a Letter of his, and to deliver from him also a Message, importing that whereas *Cæsar* had said to the Herald that he had broken his Word, he had said what was false, and that he lyed every Time that he repeated it; and that, instead of an Answer, for a speedy Determination of their Differences, he desired him to meet him in the Field, where they two might decide the Quarrel in single Combat: And the Ambassador refusing to carry either the Letter or the Message, he added that he would cause the same to be signified by a Herald, and that, though he knew also that his Master had spoken Words reflecting on the Honour of his Brother the King of *England*, he did not mention it, because he knew that King was sufficient to defend it, but if he should be prevented by any bodily Indisposition, he offered to expose his own Person for him. The same Defiance was made a few Days after, with the same Solemnity and Ceremonies, by the

Francis
gives the
Lye, and
a Chal-
lenge to
Cæsar.

the King of *England*. It was not how-
 ever reputed much for the Honour of the
 Christian Princes, engaged in a War of
 such Importance, and so prejudicial to all
 Christendom, to involve themselves al-
 so in personal Quarrels.

So great an Ardor for War and Arms
 did not however divert the King of *Eng-
 land* from his amorous Cares, which,
 having once begun to fill his Breast with
 lawless Passion, broke out at last into ut-
 most Cruelty, and horrid and unexampled
 Wickednesses, to the very great and eter-
 nal Dishonour of his Name, who, having
 obtained of *Leo* the Title of *Defender of*
the Faith, by shewing himself very obser-
 vant of the Apostolic See, and causing a
 Book to be written in his Name against the
 Impiety and poisonous Heresy of *Martin*
Luther, now acquired the Title of an im-
 pious Opposer and Persecutor of the
 Christian Religion.

THE King of *England* had for his
 Wife *Catharine*, Daughter of the late
Ferdinando and *Elizabeth* Sovereigns of
 VOL. IX. C c Spain:

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King of
England
challenges
Cæsar.

His A-
mours
censured.

Seeks a
Divorce
from his
Queen

Catharine

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Spain: A Queen certainly worthy of such Parents, and for her Virtues and Prudence highly beloved and respected by all that Kingdom. She had been before married, while his Father *Henry* was alive, to his eldest Brother *Arthur*, and, after she had bedded with him, being left a Widow by the untimely Death of a Husband, was, by common Consent of the Father and Father-in-law, married to *Henry* the younger Brother, after first obtaining a Dispensation from Pope *Julius* for the Impediment of so near an Affinity. The Fruits of this Matrimony were only a Son, who was soon snatched away by an untimely Death, and a Daughter; which gave Occasion to many in the Court to murmur that, because it was an unlawful Marriage, and indispensable in the first Degree, the Parties had been miraculously deprived of male Issue. The Cardinal of *York* taking his Opportunity from this Discontent, and from the Desire which he knew the King had of Sons, began to persuade the King to divorce his first Wife, who was not in justice his Wife, and contract Matrimony with another; moved not by Conscience, or merely by a Desire that the King should have

have male Successors, but by a Persuasion ^{A. D.} that he could induce the King to espouse ^{1528.} *Renée* the Daughter of King *Lewis*, of which he was extremely desirous, because, knowing that he was hated by the whole Kingdom, he wanted to be prepared against whatever might happen, both during the Life, and after the Death of the King; incited also by the great Hatred which he had conceived against *Cæsar*, because he did not satisfy his extravagant Pride neither with Appearances nor with Effects; and he did not doubt but that, by the great Authority which the King and He had with the Pontiff, he should obtain of him a Power to make the Divorce valid in Law.

THE King gave Ear to this Counsel not with the same View as *York* designed, but indeed, as many say, not so much from the Desire of having Sons, as because he was enamoured of one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, born of low Parentage, whom he had an Inclination to take for his Wife, this Design of his being unknown to *York*, and to every one else. But when his Intention began to be discovered, or conjectured,

Enamoured
of Anne
Bullen.

A. D. 1528. it was out of *York's* Power to dissuade him from making a Divorce, because he would not have had Authority to advise him to the contrary of what he had before persuaded him to do; and the King having already demanded the Opinions of Divines, Lawyers, and Religious, had received an Answer from many of them, that the Matrimony was invalid, either because it was their Belief, or to gratify, as is customary with Men, the Prince.

Sends Ambassadors
to the
Pope with
Offers.

As soon therefore as the Pontiff was delivered out of Prison, he appointed Ambassadors to solicit him to enter into the League, and to operate, as he should see fit to direct them, for the Restitution of *Ravenna*, but principally to obtain Leave for making a Divorce, which he did not seek by way of Dispensation, but by way of Declaration that the Matrimony with *Catharine* was null. And the King persuaded himself that the Pontiff, finding himself weak in Forces and Reputation, and without Support from other Princes, moved also by the fresh Obligation of the great Favours received from him

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him by his Deliverance, would easily consent to his Desire, especially as he knew that the Cardinal of *York* had great Authority with him, because he had always favoured his Interest, as he had before that of *Leo*. And that the Pontiff might not alledge as an Excuse the Fear of giving Offence, by such a Step, to *Cæsar*, the Son of a Sister of *Catharine*, and to win him over by Liberality, he offered to pay, for his Security, a Guard of Four Thousand Foot.

THE Pontiff heard this Proposal; but tho' he considered the Importance of the Affair, and the great Scandal that might result from it, yet finding himself at *Orvieto*, and as yet neutral between the King of *France* and *Cæsar*, and in little Confidence with either of them, and therefore thinking it of no small Importance to preserve the Friendship of the King of *England*, he durst not contradict this Demand, but rather shewed himself desirous to please the King; yet by still prolonging the Affair, and raising Difficulties against the Means that were proposed, he kindled

A. D. the Hopes and Importunities of the King
 1528. and his Ministers, which was the Source
 of many Evils, and continually increased.

Excuses
 himself
 from en-
 tering
 into the
 League.

BUT when the Pontiff had heard *Vaudemont* and *Longueville*, and given them an Answer in general Terms, he sent to the King of *France*, together with *Longueville*, the Bishop of *Pistoja*, to convince him, that, being destitute of Money, Forces, and Authority, his Declaration could be of no Service to the Confederates; that he could only assist in treating of Peace, for which End he had a Commission to wait on *Cæsar*, and exhort him to it in severe Terms. But the King, tho' he was not displeased at the Neutrality of the Pontiff, yet, doubting that he sent the Bishop to treat of some other Affairs, did not give his Consent; nor did *Cæsar* complain of the Pontiff, while he stood neuter.

State of
 the Con-
 federate
 Fleet.

BUT at the time that *Lautrech* proceeded forwards, and that the Fleets were appointed to do the same, many Difficulties presented themselves against the latter.

For

For the twelve *Venetian* Gallies, which had at first put into *Livorno*, having greatly suffered in the Enterprize on *Sardinia*, and by bad Weather, and Want of Provisions, sailed the Tenth of *February* from *Livorno* for *Corfu*, in order to refit. The *Venetians* however promised to send twelve others in their Room to join the *French* Fleet, which also had laboured under Difficulties, from what it had suffered at Sea, and by the Differences that arose between *Andrea Doria* and *Renzo da Ceri*, on account of which, tho' *Renzo* lay sick at *Pisa*, it was designed that *Doria*, who had put into *Livorno* with all the Gallies, should sail from thence with his own Gallies for *Naples*; and that *Renzo* with the *French* Gallies, four of *Fra Bernardino*, and the four Gallies of the *Venetians*, which were all got together, should attack *Sicily*.

Doria however with his Eight Gallies, and Eight others of the *French* Fleet, retired to *Genoa*, alledging that it was necessary to give the Gallies as well as himself some Repose, either because this was

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Genoese
demand
Liberty.

really his Motive, or because the Interests of the Affairs of *Genoa* inclined his Mind already to new Projects. For the *Genoese* having demanded of the King that he would grant them Leave to establish a Free Government among themselves, offering for the Gift of Liberty Two Hundred Thousand Ducats, and the King having refused it, it was believed that *Doria*, who was the Author, or at least the Promoter of these Demands, would not be pleased with the King's Acquisition of *Sicily*, unless Liberty were granted to the *Genoese*. There was also publicly reported another important Cause of Misunderstanding; for the King having dismembered the City of *Savona* from the *Genoese*, it was doubted that, within no long time, by the Favour of the King, and the Conveniency of the Port of *Savona*, the greatest Part of the Commerce by Sea would be diverted thither; and when it was also made a Station for the Royal Navy, and had a Dock to build Ships for the King, *Genoa* would be deprived of Numbers of its Inhabitants and of its Riches. For these Reasons *Doria* laboured hard with the

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the King that *Savona* might be restored to its antient Subjection under the *Genoesse*.

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BUT the Affairs of *Lautrech* proceeded with greater Felicity than the maritime Expeditions. That General, as soon as he was arrived at *Ascoli*, detached *Pietro Navarra* with his Foot towards *Aquila*, *Jeramo* and *Giulia Nova* having already submitted at the Fame of his Coming. The Marquis of *Saluzzo* with his Troops followed him by the Way of *Lionessa*, and more behind One Hundred and Fifty Light Horse, and Four Thousand Foot of the Black Bands of the *Florentines* under *Oratio Baglione*. The *Venetians* had also promised to send him, without the Person of the Duke of *Urbino*, Four Hundred Light Horse, and Four Thousand Foot of the Troops which they had in the Territory of *Rome*; and, in Compensation for the rest with which they were bound to assist in the War against the Kingdom of *Naples*, they had agreed to pay each Month Twenty-three Thousand Ducats, and declared that, with the Fleet designed for the Enterprize on *Sicily*, they would have

at

Lautrech
proceeds
prosper-
ously.

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at Sea Thirty Six Ships. It manifestly however appearing that they were tired, they proceeded very slowly in their Expences, as did also the King of *France*; for at this time Advice came to *Lautrech* that the Assignment made him by the King, when he left *France*, of One Hundred and Thirty Thousand Ducats each Month for the Charges of the War, and of which he had still to receive about Two Hundred Thousand, had been reduced to no more than Sixty Thousand Crowns each Month, and that only for three Months ensuing. At this News *Lautrech* was in deep Despair, and complained that the King had no Sense of Reason or Faith, nor was affected with the Remembrance and Example of his own Losses. For the King's diverting the Money and Forces that were to serve him for the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan* to the Enterprize of *Fonterabia*, was the Cause, he said, of his losing that State.

Takes A.
quila.

THE Affair of *Aquila* succeeded happily; for, on the Approach of *Pietro Navarra*, the Prince of *Melfi* abandoned the Place,

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Place, and the Bishop of that City, Son of the Count *di Montorio*, entered it in the Name of the King of *France*. The *German* Foot of the *Venetians* also took Possession of *Civitella*, a small but strong Town Seven Miles beyond the *Tronto*, by Capitulation, preventing Two Hundred *Spanish* Harquebusiers, who were on their March to enter the Place. The Example of *Aquila* was followed by the whole Country of the *Abruzzi*, and the whole Kingdom of *Naples* would have done the same in a very short Time, if the Imperial Army had not marched out of *Rome*.

THAT Army, after a multitude of Difficulties, and many Tumults which arose among them, because the Soldiers demanded to be paid for the Time passed since the Deliverance of the Pontiff, marched out of *Rome* on the Seventeenth of *February*; a Day of very great Breathing to the *Roman* People after such long Sufferings, if, immediately after their Departure, there had not entered the Abbot of *Farfa*, and others of the *Orsini*, with the Peasants of their Territories, who did very great Damages

Imperialists quit Rome.

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1528.

mages in the City for many Days together.

ROME was left spoiled by the Army not only of a great Part of its Inhabitants, with Numbers of Houses desolate and destroyed, but also of Statues, Columns, rare Stones, and many Ornaments of Antiquity. The *Germans* however unwilling to leave the Place without the Money of two Pays, (for the *Spaniards* consented to go without another Payment) the Pontiff, who was desirous that *Rome* should be evacuated, was necessitated to pay them Twenty Thousand Ducats more, which he payed under Pretence of freeing the two Cardinals Hostages; and after this they received Twenty Thousand under the Name of the *Roman* People, it being questioned whether these too were not paid by the Pontiff, though under this Name to give the less Cause of Complaint to *Lautrech*, who however complained very grievously that the Pontiff by his Money had been the Cause of the Departure of the Army from *Rome*, by which a most manifest Victory was reduced to the dubious Events of War.

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War. There marched out of *Rome*, as it is reported, One Thousand Five Hundred Horse, Four Thousand *Spanish* Foot, and between Two and Three Thousand *Italians*, and Five Thousand *German* Foot; so greatly were these last diminished by the Pestilence!

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Their
Number.

The Departure of the Imperial Army from *Rome* constrained *Lautrech*, who else would have taken the most direct Road to *Naples*, to go a longer Way about through *Puglia*, on that Side towards the Sea, because of the Difficulty of conveying the Artillery through the Mountains, if he should meet with Opposition from the Enemy in those Places, and much more for the sake of furnishing himself with Provisions, that he might not come to want them if he should be necessitated to stop the Course of Victory at the Walls of *Naples*. He proceeded therefore to *Civita di Chieti*, the Capital of the *Hitber Abruzzi* (for the River *Pescara* divides the *Hitber* from the *Farther Abruzzi*) where *Sermona*, and many other Towns of that Country submitted to him, and with

Lautrech
pursues
his Con-
quests.

A. D. 1528. with so great an Inclination, either out of Affection to the Name of the *French*, or Hatred to that of the *Spaniards*, that almost all the Places anticipated their Submission before the Army approached within twenty or thirty Miles of them. He proceeded however with more Slowness than he might have done, in order to advance forward with the greater Steadiness and Security. And it was believed that, to secure himself of collecting, during all *March*, the Revenue of the Duty on Wool in *Puglia*, which amounted to Eighty Thousand Ducats, and was levied in five Towns, he was to have sent thither *Pietro Navarra* with his Foot, from whose odd Way of Management, which *Lautrech* was necessitated to bear with, there was not much Order in the Army.

Progress
of the
French
Army.

BUT *Lautrech* advancing from *Guaſto*, and informed that a Part of the Enemy's Army, joined by the Prince of *Melfi* with One Thousand *German* Foot of those brought by Don *Carlo* the Viceroy from *Spain*, and by Two Thousand *Italian* Foot that had marched out of *Aquila*, were
come

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come to *Nocera*, forty Miles distant from *Termini* towards the Sea-coast, and another Part to *Campo Basso*, thirty Miles from *Termini*, on the High Road to *Naples*, ordered forward *Pietro Navarra* with his Foot, and he himself on the last of *February* arrived at *Serra*, eighteen Miles distant from *Termini*, from whence on the fourth of *March* he proceeded to *San Severo*. But *Pietro Navarra* advancing forwards entered in one Day into *Nocera*, and the next into *Foggia*, entering through one Gate, when the *Spaniards*, who had retired to *Troja*, *Barletta*, and *Manfredonia*, were about to enter in at another; and this Acquisition furnished the Army with a Sufficiency of Provisions.

Lautrech had with him in all Four Hundred Lances, and Twelve Thousand Foot, tho' none of the choicest Troops; but he was to be joined by the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, who marched before all, the Troops of the *Venetians*, and the Black Bands of the *Florentines*, which last were greatly desired by *Lautrech*; for as they were a Body of Infantry as famous for their Dexterity

Number
of *Lautrech's*
Army.

A. D. 1528. terity and Boldness in Assaults, as any Infantry at that time in *Italy*, they served as a Seasoning to his Army, in which were firm Troops, and steady in Fight.

Motions
of the Ar-
mies.

BUT *Lautrech* understanding by the Report of *Pietro Navarra*, whom he had sent to view the Situation, that in and about *Troja* were Five Thousand *Germans*, Five Thousand *Spaniards*, and Three Thousand Five Hundred *Italians*, and finding himself unable to keep the Field, because of the excessive Cold, on the Eighth of *March* removed with all the Foot and Light Horse to *Nocera*, and put the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, just then arrived, with the Men at Arms, and a Thousand Foot into *Foggia*, declaring that he would come to a Battle if an Opportunity offered, both for other Reasons, and because, his Appointments from the King being diminished, he could not long support the Charges of the War; and he left the Ambassadors, and the People unfit for War, with a small Guard, in *San Severo*. Thus he thought himself in a secure Situation, and under no Necessity to fight, unless with Advantage;

tage; and he was in no Want of Provisions, tho' there was a Scarcity of Meat. A. D.
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On the Twelfth of *March* he took the Field again three Miles beyond *Nocera*, and four Miles from *Troja*, for *Nocera* and *Barletta*, which are twelve Miles distant from one another, are but eight Miles distant from *Troja*; and the Imperialists, who had assembled almost all the Troops which were in *Manfredonia* and *Barletta*, and had plenty of Provisions in *Troja*, tho' the Soldiers, except the *German* Foot, were not paid, sallied out to skirmish; the next Day they took the Field without Artillery in a strong Post on the Hill of *Troja*. On the Fourteenth *Lautrech* surrounded that Hill on the upper Quarter which looks southward towards the Mountain, and turning his Face to *Troja* began to ascend, and gaining an Eniinnce, after a great Struggle, made a Lodgment which commanded theirs, and with the Fire of his Cannon constrained them to retire Part into *Troja*, Part on the Back of it, taking Possession of their Camp, so that *Troja* and the Imperial Army remained between the *French* Army and *San Severo*. This

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Situation rendered it difficult for the Imperialists to receive the Succours that might be expected from *Naples*, and in a great measure also obstructed the Conveyance of Provisions to them, though, as they were discharged of Baggage and uselefs People, they did not consume much ; and, on the other hand, they prevented the Conveyance of Provisions from *San Severo* to the *French* Camp, and also kept in danger *San Severo*, which they might attack with Part of their Troops without being discovered by the *French*.

Situation
of the
Armies.

THE Armies standing thus encamped, the *French* beyond *Troja* towards the Mountain, and the Imperialists at the Quarter on this Side towards *Nocera* at the Back of the Town upon a well fortified Spot, and the greatest Part of the circumjacent Places being in the Hands of the *French*, they remained in this Situation until the Nineteenth, spending the Night in perpetual Alarms, and the Day in Skirmishes, in one of which *Martio Colonna* was taken Prisoner ; and in the mean time the Convoys of Provisions from *San*

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San Severo and *Foggia* to the *French* A. D. 1528. Camp were frequently intercepted, which occasioned some Scarcity, and made it necessary to appoint large Escorts.

IN this Juncture, the Imperial Generals consulting together what Measures to take, the Marquis *del Guasto* advised a Battle, because the *French* Army increased every Day, and their own diminished. But more Deference was paid to the Counsel of *Alarcone*, who represented that there was more Hope of Victory in standing on the Defensive, and temporising, than in trusting to the Arbitration of Fortune. On the 19th the Imperialists, to avoid Annoyance from the Enemy's Artillery, retired into *Troja*; but afterwards, having fortified their Camp against the Artillery, they returned thither in good season, and unluckily returned back again into *Troja*. But on the Twenty-first at Break of Day they broke up, and marched towards the Mountain to *Ariano*, which was a good Day's March, leaving in *Troja* a Sufficiency of Provisions, contrary to the Expectations of the *French*, who, because they had secured the Passes by

Imperialists de-camp.

D d 2

which

A. D. 1528. which they must have been conveyed, had vainly promised themselves the Victory.

Black
Bands
plunder
Aquila.

THE Reason of their Decampment was supposed to be, either a Design to draw the *French* into a Place where they would suffer for Want of Provisions, or the Advice which they had received that the Black Bands were expected in the Camp the next Day. These Troops, as they proceeded forwards, had in their March taken up their Quarters in *Aquila*, where, without having received any Injury or Provocation, but meerly for a greedy Desire of Robbing, they villainously sacked that City.

Lautrech on the 22d encamped at *Lionessa* on the River *Ofanto*, called by the *Latins* *Aufidus*, Six Miles from *Ascoli*, and sent the Black Bands and *Pietro Navarra* with his Foot and two Pieces of Cannon to besiege *Melfi*. Here, a small Breach being made, the *Gascons* approached the Wall, and the Black Bands, with greater Fury, contrary to the Orders of their Officers, did the same; and each Nation striving

striving to outdo the other, their Flanks being exposed to the continued Fire of Harquebuses, they were repulsed with the Death of many of the *Gascons*, and of about Sixty of the Black Bands; and the same Evening they sustained almost an equal Loss, having returned, when it was late, after the Battery had been continued, to give another Assault. But in the Night there arrived in the Camp a fresh Supply of Artillery sent by *Lautrech*, with which the Besiegers having the next Morning erected two great Batteries, the Peasants, who were numerous in the Place, began, out of Fear, to be tumultuous, and the Soldiers, who were about 600, seized with Apprehensions of the Danger of the Tumult, abandoned the Defence; so that the Besiegers entered, and put all the Peasants, and Men of the Town to the Sword, the Soldiers with the Prince retiring into the Castle, where soon after they surrendered, as the Besiegers said, at Discretion, tho', as the others pretended, with an Exception to Life. The Prince with a few of his Men were saved, all the rest were put to the Sword, the Place sacked, and the Kil-

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1528.

Melfi taken and sacked by the French

A. D. 1528. led amounted to Three Thousand Men. In the Town was found good Store of Provisions, which was a mighty Relief to the *French*, who, by their ill-providing themselves, laboured under the greatest Necessity in *Puglia* of what that Country produces in the greatest Abundance.

ON the 24th the *Spaniards* departed from *Ariano*, and halted at *Tripalda*, Twenty-five Miles from *Naples* on the direct Road, and Forty Miles from the *Ofanto*, where they were joined by the Viceroy, the Prince of *Salerno*, and *Fabritio Maraudus*, with Three Thousand Foot, and Thirteen Pieces of Cannon; and it was said that *Alarcone* was marched out of *Naples* with Two Thousand Foot, to protect the Collection of the Duty of Wool. *Lautreck* however remained on the *Ofanto* till he had supplied himself with a great Store of Provisions, and all his Troops were encamped between *Ascoli* and *Melfi*; and, since the Calamity of *Melfi*, *Barletta*, *Trani*, and all the circumjacent Towns, except *Manfredonia*, where was a Garrison of One Thousand Foot, had submitted to him :

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him : And having detached *Pietro Navarra* with Four Thousand Foot to attack the Castle of *Venosa*, the Garrison consisting of Two Hundred and Fifty *Spaniards*, after a brave Resistance, surrendering at Discretion, he kept the Officers Prisoners, and dismissed the Soldiers without Arms. He had also taken such Measures that the Duty on the *Puglian* Wool was collected for him ; but, on account of the Impediments occasioned by the War, it did not amount to half the usual Sum. While he lay here encamped the Proveditor *Pisano* arrived with the *Venetian* Troops, in Number about Two Thousand Foot. Thus did the General employ himself in securing Plenty of Provisions in his Camp, which was facilitated by the Reduction of *Ascoli* taken by the *Venetians*.

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Lautrech
makes
Conquests

IN this Situation of Affairs *Lautrech*, assuming Spirit from his prosperous Successes, pressed the Pontiff in a haughty Strain to declare for the League. His Holiness had removed his Court to *Viterbo*; for tho' the *Viterbians* had at first; by the Procurement of *Ottaviano degli Spiriti*, re-

Affairs of
the Pope.

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1528.

solved not to admit his Governor, yet they complied afterwards out of Fear. At the same time *Vespasiano Colonna* dying, and appointing, in his last Will, that his only Daughter *Isabella* should be married to *Ippolito de' Medici*, the Pope seized on all the Towns that he possessed in the Territory of *Rome*, though *Ascanio* pretended that, on Failure of the male Line of *Prospero Colonna*, they belonged to him.

IN the mean time *Monopoli* had surrendered to the *Venetians*, for whom, according to the last Convention made with the King of *France*, were to be conquered all those Ports of the Kingdom of *Naples* of which they were in Possession before the Defeat they received from King *Lewis* in the *Ghiaradadda*.

Duke of
Ferrara
sends his
Son into
France.

THIS Prosperity of the *French* induced the Duke of *Ferrara* to send his Son into *France*, to perfect the Matrimony which before, when he refused also to be General of the League, he had purposely delayed.

BUT

BUT *Cæsar*, in so great a Danger of the A. D. 1528.
Neapolitan Kingdom, providing no Sup-
 plies of Troops from *Spain*, for from thence Cæsar
 Parts he had sent no more than Six Hundred prepares
 Foot, of no great Service, to *Sicily*, had Affittance
 given Orders that a fresh Body of *German* from Ger-
 Infantry, under the Duke of *Brunswic*, many.
 should march from *Germany* into *Italy* for
 the Relief of that Kingdom; and these
 Troops were prepared with the greater
 Sollicitude, in proportion as it was under-
 stood that the Progress of *Lautrech* occasi-
 oned a greater Necessity of Succours.

To oppose the Coming of these Forces, Prepara-
 that they might not confound the Hopes tions of
 of Victory, it was appointed, by the com- the League
 mon Consent of the Kings of *France* and in Opposi-
England, and of the *Venetians*, that Mon-
 seigneur *Francis de St. Pol*, of the Family of
Bourbon, should pass into *Italy* with Four
 Hundred Lances, Five Hundred Light
 Horse, Five Thousand *French* Foot, Two
 Thousand *Swiss*, and Two Thousand
Germans, in order to follow the Enemies
 if they marched towards the Kingdom of
Naples, or, if not, to make War, in con-
 junction

A. D. 1528. junction with the Troops of the *Venetians* and of *Francesco Sforza*, against *Milan*.

For the Maintenance of this Army were allotted Sixty Thousand Ducats each Month, of which Thirty Thousand were to be contributed by the King of *England*, and the *Venetians*, in a Council of the Pregadi, had made a Decree to levy Ten Thousand Foot.

Miserable
State of
Milan.

AT this time the City of *Milan*, by the severe Government of *Antonio da Leva*, was in Extremities and miserable Subjection. For, in order to provide for the Payment of the Soldiers, he had taken into his Hands all the Provisions of the City, and making of them a public Magazine, and selling them out on his own Account, raised Money to pay them, all the Inhabitants, to avoid dying of Hunger, being forced to buy them at what Price he pleased, which the Poor wanting Means to do, many perished in almost every Street; and the Money raised this Way not being sufficient to satisfy the *German* Soldiers who were distributed into Quarters in the Houses, they plagued the Landlords every Day

Day with new Extortions, keeping those ^{A D.} who did not pay them in Chains; and because, to avoid those Barbarities, and intolerable Burdens, many were fled, and were continually flying from the City, notwithstanding the Severity of the Orders, and the Vigilance of the Guards, Processes were ordered for confiscating the Goods of the Absent, who were so numerous, that, to avoid the Tedioufness of Writing, they caused them to be put in Print. The Nobles who remained were very poor and ill-clothed, and those Parts of the City that were formerly the most frequented were now over-run with Nettles and Briars.

THE Author of so many bitter Calamities, and severe Punishments, was however very fortunate in all his Undertakings: For the Governor of *Mus*, in the Service of the League, having laid Siege to *Lecco* with Six Hundred Foot, and taken away the Shipping, that the *Spaniards* who were in *Como* might not succour the Place by the Way of the Lake, *Antonio da Leva*, having ordered the Foot from

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from *Novara*, marched out of *Milan*, and at the Distance of Fifteen Miles made a Halt with the *Germans*; and, having made himself Master of the Fort of *Olgina*, situated on the *Adda*, which had been taken before by the Governor of *Mus*, he detached *Filippo Torniello* with the *Italian* and *Spanish* Foot to the Relief of *Lecco*, which lies on the other Bank of the Lake, where *Mus*, with the Assistance of the Troops sent him by the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*, and with Artillery furnished by the *Venetians*, had seized on all the Passes, and fortified them, tho' difficult of themselves by the Ruggedness of the Places, and of the Mountains. But the Imperialists having seized an Eminence opposite to *Lecco*, and overlooking that Place, after they had in vain attempted a Passage in several Places, at last forced a Pass guarded by the Troops of the *Venetians*, whom the Governor, either because he reposed less Confidence in their Valour, or to expose them to less Danger, had posted in the most rugged Places. On this the Governor with his Men and Artillery getting on board the Vessels saved

saved his Troops, there being some Suspicion that the *Venetians* had made but a slight Defence for the Sake of gratifying the Duke of *Milan*, who would not be pleased that *Lecco* should be taken by the Governor; who, however, not long after, that he might obtain by Agreement what he could not compass by Arms, went over to the Imperialists, and was by *Antonio Leva*, in consequence of the Treaty, put in Possession of *Lecco* and other Places, obtaining also of *Geronimo Morone*, who by his Letters had been the Author of this Negotiation, the Cession of his Rights. By this Agreement *Antonio da Leva*, struggling with Famine, obtained a very seasonable Relief both in Provisions and Money; for the Governor, aspiring after higher Matters, assumed afterwards the Title of Marquis, paid Thirty Thousand Ducats, and sent Three Thousand Sacks of Corn to *Milan*.

IN the mean time *Lautrech* advanced towards *Naples*, and on the Third Day of April was at *Rocca Manarda*, leaving for the

A. D. 1528. the Security of *Puglia*, where only *Manfredonia* held out for *Cæsar*, 50 Men at Arms, 200 Light Horſe, and between 1500 and 2000 Foot, all Troops of the *Venetians*. But the Imperial Army, reſolving to attend only to the Defence of *Naples* and *Gaeta*, abandoned all the circumjacent Country, after they had ſacked *Nola*, and conveyed the Proviſions that were in *Capua* to *Naples*, in order to deprive the Enemy of Subſiſtence, and poſted itſelf on the Mountain of *San Martino*, from whence it afterwards entered into *Naples*, conſiſting of Ten Thouſand *German* and *Spaniſh* Foot, the *Italian* Foot being all diſbanded, except Six Hundred, who ſerved under *Fabritio Maramaus*, for *Sciarra Colonna* with his Foot was marched into the *Abruzzi*.

Imperia-
liſts retire
to *Naples*.

THERE remained but very few Inhabitants in *Naples*; for all thoſe of Subſtance or Quality were retired to *Iſchia*, *Capri*, and other neighbouring Iſles. The Place was ſaid to be provided with Corn for a little more than two Months, but of Fleſh and Forage there was but a ſmall Quantity.

Capua,

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Capua, Nola, Acerra, Aversa, and all the circumjacent Towns surrendered to ^{A. D. 1528.} *Lautrech*, who halted four days with the Army at the Abbey of *Acerra*, seven Miles from *Naples*, having proceeded, and still advancing, but slowly, because of waiting for the Provisions, which were hindered by the bad Roads, and by the Rains, which had filled the Plains with Water; and he had need to be provided with very large Quantities, since it is reported that in his Army, according to the modern Corruption of Military Discipline, were above Twenty Thousand Horses, and Eighty Thousand Men, Two Thirds useless People. From this Place the General sent *Simone Tebaldi*, a Roman, with One Hundred and Fifty Light Horse, and Five Hundred *Corficans*, not in Pay, come over from the Imperial Camp, to possess himself of *Calabria*.

By this time also *Filippino Doria*, ^{Naples} with Eight Gallies of *Andrea Doria*, and ^{blocked} Two Ships, was arrived on the Coast of ^{by Sea.} *Naples*, and had taken a Ship laden with Wheat, and with his Cannon dislodged the

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the Imperialists from the *Maddalena*. But tho' a little after he took two other Ships laden with Wheat, and was the Cause of many Inconveniences to the Enemy, yet his Gallies were not sufficient to keep the Port of *Naples* entirely blocked up. Wherefore *Lautrech* requested that the Sixteen Gallies of the *Venetians* might join him, which, after they had been slowly refitted at *Corfu*, were arrived in the Port of *Trani*. But the *Venetians*, tho' already Masters of the Cities of *Trani* and *Monopoli*, yet, preferring their own Profit to that of others, tho' all things depended on the Conquest of *Naples*, delayed to send them, because they would first reduce *Pulignano*, *Otranto*, and *Brindisi*.

On the Seventeenth of *April*, *Lautrech* encamped at *Caviano* five Miles from *Naples*, and the same Day the Imperialists, who abounded in light Horse, their Diligence and Sollicitude getting so much the better of the Negligence of the *French*, took from them a great Quantity of Provisions, which they wanted; and had fortified *Sant' Ermo*, seated on the Mountain of
San

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San Martino, and overlooking *Naples*, in order to prevent the *French* from taking the Advantage of that Post to annoy the Place with their Cannon, and because, being Masters of that Hill, they could almost secure the greater Part of the City from the Approaches of the *French*, who, on the other hand, had some Hopes given them by the Discord among their Enemies, the Marquis *del Guasto* having, for some private Causes, wounded Count *di Potenza*, and killed his Son.

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Imperia-
lists pre-
pare for a
vigorous
Defence.

ON the 21st the *French* Army advanced to *Casoria*, within Three Miles of *Naples*, on the Road to *Aversa*, and the same Day was a Skirmish under the Walls of *Naples*, in which was killed *Migliau*, the Person who had with much Vehemence opposed the Releasement of the Pontiff, for which he himself had carried Orders from *Cæsar* to the Generals.

Migliau
killed.

ON the 22^d *Lautrech* encamped a Mile and half from *Naples*, where he prohibited Skirmishing as useless; and *Pozzuolo* had already surrendered to him.

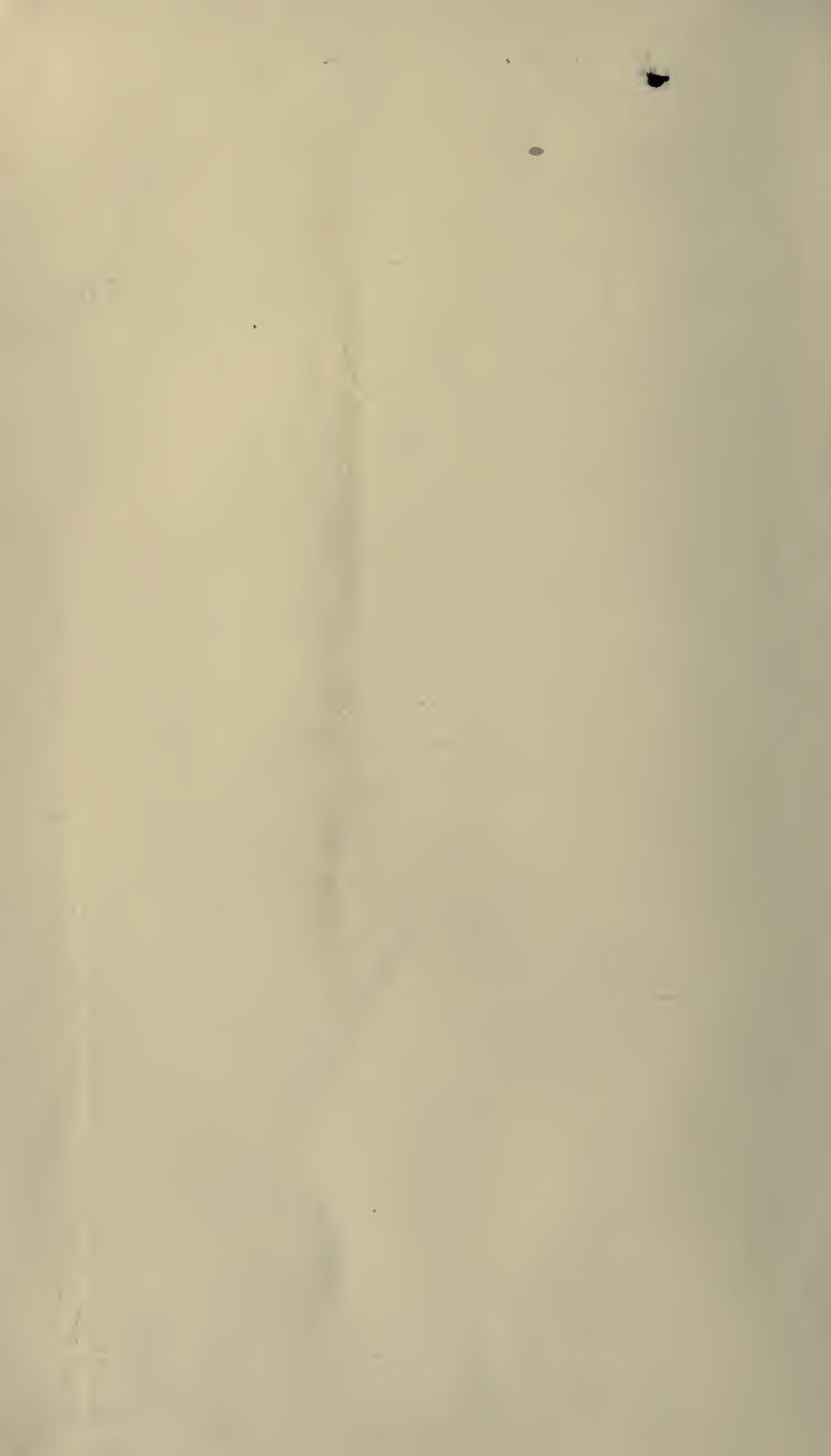
Pozzuolo
surrendered.

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Lautrech
comes
before
Naples.

AT last, on *April* 29, the Army came before the City of *Naples*, and encamped between *Poggio Reale*, a very magnificent Palace, built by *Alfonso* the Second of *Aragon*, while he was Duke of *Calabria*, and the Mountain of *San Martino*, the Troops extending themselves within half a Mile of *Naples*. *Lautrech* himself took up his Quarters more forward than *Poggio Reale*, at a Country Seat of the Duke of *Monte Alto*, in which Place he fortified himself with Intrenchments that stretched towards the Road to *Capua*; an Encampment made in a very strong Situation, and by which he cut off from *Naples* the Conveniency of the Aqueducts that come from *Poggio Reale*. From this Place he designed to make afterwards another Lodgement more forwards, on an Eminence under the Hill of *Sant' Ermo*, in order to straiten *Naples* the more, and to annoy the City from a nearer Post. But to form a clear Idea of these Passages, it seems necessary to describe the Situation of the City of *Naples*, and of the Country about it.

The End of the Eighteenth Book, and Ninth Volume.



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